

THE MONTH

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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The Major Question

THE major question to-day which must have been asked a million times in fifty different tongues is a very simple one. Is there going to be war? It is easy enough to formulate. What makes it difficult of answer is the knowledge that we cannot assess all possible factors: and some of these factors are decidedly non-rational. A sudden attack of political nerves, an overdose of propaganda, another false step which national pride would not suffer to be retracted—and there might have been, there might still be, war. It goes without saying that the great majority of Europeans desire and positively long for peace: and the larger proportion is convinced that somehow—as to the precise “how” they are naturally vaguer—it will be preserved. The undoubted enthusiasm with which, seven months ago, Mr. Chamberlain was acclaimed in this and other countries was entirely due to his evident will for peace and to the initiative he took in straightening out a situation which appeared to be leading to war. The Munich agreement was a victory for peace even when regarded in retrospect: and at the time it did promise an end to those disconcerting German moves, not one of which had been without some show of justice though the methods employed to create the crisis, and the threats of what might follow should the crisis not be resolved to their particular liking, were rightly and universally deplored. The more recent occupation of the Czech districts of Bohemia and Moravia has, however, shattered the confidence so laboriously manufactured at Munich. Assurances were there given, to quote from Mr. Chamberlain’s speech of April 3rd, that “the foreign policy of the German Government was limited, that they had no wish to dominate other races, and that all they wanted was to assimilate Germans living in territory adjacent to their country.” When that was achieved, there was to be an end: there were no further territorial ambitions. Those assurances, the Premier continued, “have now been thrown to the winds.” New reasons are put forward to explain the

march of events in what was Czechoslovakia : historical associations, for example, and the fear of attack. "They may be excellent reasons," was Mr. Chamberlain's comment, "but they do not accord with the assurances which were given before."

A Crisis of Confidence

THE present international situation may be less acute but it is definitely more serious than was that of last September. In the first instance it is a crisis of confidence. Recent happenings have so shaken the belief of other countries in promises and professions, made in Germany, that it is hard to see how they can place reliance on similar pledges in the future, however solemnly these may be given. The anti-German and anti-Nazi will now insist that he knew this all the time : and it must be confessed that there is no ready reply to his challenge. International co-operation is possible only on the basis of mutual trust and reasonable good will : and at the moment these necessary qualities are conspicuously absent. The reference of the Holy Father in his Easter allocution to this obvious want of trust and to its equally obvious causes was particularly apposite. "When solemnly sanctioned treaties and pledged faith," he stated, "are stripped of that force and security which plighted faithfulness implies and by which it is strengthened, if this force and security be taken away, it becomes every day more difficult to lessen the increase of armaments and to pacify the minds of men, twin desires to-day of all men everywhere"—twin desires, he might have added, in the path of which every conceivable obstacle is being placed. Suspicion, uneasiness, dread of war and—almost more dangerous than these—the fatalistic assumption that war with Nazi Germany is inevitable sooner or later—this is the outcome of recent German adventures which is slowly poisoning the minds of men in Europe and the two Americas. Until such uneasiness is dispelled, until an atmosphere be created in which outstanding grievances can honestly be ventilated and difficulties be considered, there is little chance that the present tension will be alleviated and the necessary confidence restored. The "peace that comes of order" demands for its establishment both calm and unprejudiced thinking and the assurance that an agreement made is something definite and secure ; it is promised only to men of good faith and will.

Press and Propaganda

IT is a sorry commentary on man's scientific achievement, on his new-found power over the air and over distance, that his discoveries have been harnessed rather to the service of enmity and misunderstanding than to that of good. Modern man, thanks to his own inventions, is dragooned and marshalled in a manner that was scarcely possible before. The 'vox populi,' once paralleled with the 'vox Dei,' has become a raucous, metallic scream, and the voice is the voice of the propaganda department. There is a dreadful uniformity of news and views, and that uniformity is carefully dictated: and, no doubt, this ceaseless insistence upon a certain combination of half-truths and lies is bound to have its effect, to create the sinister atmosphere that is desired. But it should not be taken for granted that this attempt to dragoon men's minds in one direction is peculiar to totalitarian countries. Nothing is perhaps more painful, and more degrading to an honourable profession than the effort on the part of a certain type of English newspaper to aggravate every international incident, to sustain the present tension and to employ rumour and report to keep alive an unhealthy anxiety and apprehension. The cause of this is to be sought for, partly in the cult of the sensational and the news-value of startling headlines, partly also in the irresponsibility of the daily, and almost more, the Sunday Press. But it is difficult not to sense something far more unpleasant and dangerous behind this temper and to feel that interests are at work to widen the gulf between the people of this country and of Germany, to make future *rapprochement* as remote a thing as possible. That similar tactics are made use of in German official quarters is a poor excuse for their practice here. The freedom of the English Press to which such lip service is often paid, should be accompanied by a far greater sense of the responsibility without which such liberty too readily degenerates. Whatever tends or, still worse, is intended to increase uneasiness and to fray the people's nerves, is a real disservice to the cause of peace, a crime both against humanity and truth.

German Aims and Claims

THE MAIN cause of present anxiety is the uncertainty as to what German aims, ultimate and even proximate, really are. Until March of this year it was possible to believe that

these were limited to the double purpose of incorporating all German-speaking areas in the Reich and of establishing a certain economic supremacy in Central Europe and the Balkans. The first half of this programme was practically realized : and with the second, considerable progress had been recorded. That German influence should make itself felt from the Rhine to the Black Sea more strongly than that of any other Power is not unnatural, especially after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary (one of the turning-points of history in Germany's favour), and now that Communist Russia has antagonized her Slav brethren. The partial control set up in this area for fifteen years after the War, by France through her Polish alliance and the support given to the Little Entente and, to a lesser degree, by Italy owing to a quasi-protectorate over Austria and Hungary, was of too artificial a character to endure once Germany should reassert herself and the Italo-French relations had worsened. The further fact that to-day the German people, externally at least, are more united than ever, and less able than before to trade with overseas countries has made them still more dependent for food supplies and raw materials on their smaller Eastern neighbours, and has accentuated the old *Drang nach Osten*, of which so much has been written. Their economic situation has been made more difficult by vast expenditure on armaments and military and semi-military organizations (the upkeep of a police-State is of the costliest) as well as by the unofficial but effective boycott of German goods abroad. To what extent does this renewed *Drang nach Osten* imply political adventures in addition to economic penetration? Germany's neighbour States are uneasy and alarmed though less so, apparently, than the majority of Englishmen and Americans. What aggravates the situation and seems to confirm suspicion is Germany's obvious reluctance to state her aims or to enter into conference with other Governments. This is due in part to her bitter memories of what is known as the *Diktat* of Versailles and to the possibly well-grounded fear that in any future conference the dice may be well loaded against her. The project of a fresh Peace Conference "before and not after the next war" makes no ready appeal to her leaders. In one sense they are afraid of the idea. They have learnt to dominate by sheer force, and might well feel themselves handicapped at a conference table where subtler weapons are more effective. The German people have been

taught that the Geneva system existed chiefly for the encirclement and subjugation of their country and that any return to Geneva would be a modern journey to Canossa. The claim is put forward, explicitly or at least by suggestion, that Germany must be allowed to develop freely within its natural *Lebensraum*, in other words, that a large part of the mid-Continent is her natural and historical sphere of influence in which none of the other great Powers has any right or even any reason to be interested. This is a revival in modern dress of the Reich idea. There would be a new "Holy Roman Empire" which, for all its epithets, was fundamentally German in the past, and in any present-day reincarnation would have little of the "Roman" about it and an even smaller element of the "holy."

Guarantees

THE extent to which this would imply a loss of independence on the part of smaller nations or might even lead to wilder adventures eastwards, is not very clear, but in the present atmosphere of apprehension there are grounds for the gravest fears. Quite recently (April 3rd) Mr. Chamberlain referred to the declaration he had made on the eve of the Munich settlement. "I am myself a man of peace to the depth of my soul. Armed conflict between nations is a nightmare to me. But if I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by the fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted." His opinion, then and now, was that modern war "is such a frightful thing that I could not ask the country to accept new commitments which might involve us in war unless some really vital principle like that which I have just described were at stake." One of the worst features of the present tension is that it will be more difficult than ever to make adjustments which under other circumstances could easily and reasonably be made. Such further concessions would be interpreted as an indication of weakness and a sign that there would be no intervention even under more serious conditions. Mr. Churchill's remark (April 3rd) that "we are not concerned at this moment with particular rights or places, but to resist by force of arms further acts of violence, oppression or intrigue" must represent the feelings of very many. This is not, he added, the time for negotiation. It is in this spirit that we have to understand the guarantees that have been given to certain

other countries. The fact that they involve a real departure from traditional British policy is an assurance that they have not been lightly contracted. Possibly one of the best services that can be rendered by an independent periodical in the present crisis is that of pointing out what popular opinion may so easily ignore, namely, the difficulties that are implicit in guarantees such as these. This does not mean that we criticize the guarantees themselves. We can have every confidence that men of the calibre and recognized good will of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax have weighed these difficulties and acted in spite of them. They are men of peace and will do everything to safeguard it.

Poland and Roumania

ONE of the few thoroughly happy consequences of the peace treaties was the resurrection of Poland, a country that had been shamelessly handled for nearly a century and a half under Russian and Prussian misrule. The Poles are a great people, a great Catholic people who have more than once been conspicuous for their defence of the Christian world against the East. In the debate already referred to (April 3rd) Mr. Lloyd George paid them the tribute that "they have rendered great service to civilization on many a momentous occasion." Actually their greatest "service to civilization" was the driving back of the Red army less than twenty years ago. The speaker's conclusion was, somewhat strangely, that they should now be compelled to accept assistance from the same Red army which they then routed, apparently whether they wanted it or not. "It was for us to declare the conditions on which we were prepared to assist Poland," he continued. One cannot escape the pertinent question whether it was the Poles who asked us to assist them or we ourselves who had forced our protection upon them. Such protection is, no doubt, most welcome; but if it is to mean Russian assistance and Russian occupation of their country, that welcome will be decidedly cool. In any case the Poles will certainly defend their own independence; they are patriotic, courageous, accustomed to sacrifice: their weakness lies in the fact that they are already to some extent encircled and have a large minority of Ukrainians who are disaffected and among whom German propaganda has long been active. There remain also the problems of Danzig which with the

development of the Polish port of Gdynia has lost much of its importance, and the so-called Polish Corridor which for them is the Polish province of Pomorze. These are questions which call for and, in saner times, could easily receive a settlement by negotiation, and even now must not be suffered to become a cause of general war. The position of Roumania is even less satisfactory. During the present century that country has increased its territory by a very large area since it figured on the winning side in the second Balkan and World Wars. As a result it contains districts claimed by the Bulgarians, has minorities of over a million Hungarians and nearly a million Germans in Transylvania and is still at loggerheads with Russia over the province of Bessarabia. Once again does this guarantee of ours involve a permanent recognition of the present frontiers, which can scarcely be justified by any obvious principle, except that of actual possession?

Umbrellas over Europe

A GREAT deal of play has been made in Germany with Mr. Chamberlain's umbrella and the double meaning of its German equivalent. *Schirm*—a shortened form of *Regenschirm*—is used both for the domestic article which keeps us dry and provides the staple furniture of lost property offices, and for the notion of protection. In German newspapers Mr. Chamberlain is the *Schirmherr*, that is, the man with the umbrella and the man who offers his protection to countries throughout Europe. With unwonted humour the German Press has referred to this umbrella of Mr. Chamberlain's as hanging over Germany like a sword of Damocles. To our thinking, if we may retain the domestic metaphor, the shadow over Eastern Europe has the form rather of a flat-sided brush, as used by interior decorators. In any case this modern and extremely odd notion of protection is a German invention. Political opponents of the Nazis were taken into "protective custody": in other words, in order to protect you from interference, you were arrested and not the interferers. In a similar manner Catholic organizations were dissolved after their headquarters had been attacked and their windows broken, because their existence led to breaches of public order. A protectorate has recently been established over Bohemia and Moravia when the only persons against whom the in-

habitants considered they needed protection were their self-constituted protectors. It is not unnatural, therefore, that many countries of Eastern Europe prefer to remain "unprotected," at least after the latest model, and welcome a less ambiguous promise of assistance.

The Soviet Problem

THE greatest use is being made by German propaganda of the political *rapprochement* between England and the Soviet. This is true not merely at home but also in countries like Spain and Portugal. It is clear that a normal Russia would be the obvious Power to defend these Eastern nations against German aggression. Certain facts, however, have to be faced. There are grave reasons for doubting the effectiveness of the Soviet forces: the wholesale "liquidation" of high army and navy commanders is of too recent memory. The Soviet's main interest is to foment revolution in other countries, and it is entirely opposed to the ideas and ideals of Western democracy. A further fact is that the smaller Powers concerned are not in the least anxious for Russian help. Poland, Hungary and Roumania have had experience of Communism: and there is the real danger that a British alliance with Moscow which has so strange an attraction for certain parties in this country, would drive these Powers into the German camp. They do desire protection against Germany: but equally clearly they do not want it from Russia. On moral and Christian grounds such an alliance stands condemned. Its success would be a supreme example of casting out devils by Beelzebub: and the last state would definitely be worse than the first. Why, we may ask, is there this sudden forgetfulness of the terrible lessons of the Spanish war? Those who are now loudest in their demands for this alliance are just the men who have been so decisively wrong in recent years, who drove Italy into partnership with Germany by a policy of ineffective sanctions and who, with all their plea of non-intervention, favoured so consistently the wrong side in Spain. The Soviets have stood, and still stand, for the upheaval of organized democracy and for the suppression of all religious and Christian values. *Non tali auxilio*. . . In the House of Lords debate (March 28th) the grave consequences of such an alliance were insisted upon. Lord Hastings asserted his conviction that the one force which must eventually triumph was that of Christianity. "How, there-

fore, could the Primate accommodate that belief with the co-operation of this most Christian country with that most Godless one?" "We could not appeal," stated Lord Phillimore, "to the best influences in Europe and work hand in glove with a nation which has treated its populace as Russia has. If we acted on those lines, we would inevitably end in disaster." Catholics will scarcely need the reminder that such co-operation is dangerous, unworthy and, to the Christian mind, indefensible.

Italy and Spain

IN the same debate Lord Hastings put the question which contains the real solution of the present crisis, even on the basis of power politics. Was it not, he asked, the prime interest of this country to regain her friendship with Italy and the new Spain? To speak in terms of the old diplomacy, the only sound balance of European power is to be found in the association of this country, France and Italy, with Nationalist Spain in the background. Had the Stresa Front in which this was secured remained intact, Germany could scarcely have annexed Austria and would certainly not have been able to destroy Czechoslovakia. The time has perhaps not yet come for Italy to dissociate herself from Germany, but there is a growing feeling among Italians that her position as junior partner in the Axis is an unsatisfactory one and might well involve her in a general war in which she would be one of the worst sufferers. There is little natural affinity between Germans and Italians, and even the Axis has not brought the two peoples nearer in sympathy and understanding. Italy is afraid of German influence in the Balkans, and her recent seizure of Albania was directed as much against Germany as anyone else. Now that she has been excluded practically from Central Europe, her natural sphere of influence remains the Mediterranean, her principal aspirations are directed towards Northern Africa. These aims, to take a long view, cannot be realized against the opposition of England and France but, once the present tension has cooled, should not be too difficult of realization with their consent. Surely it is not unreasonable to expect that these two countries will be ready to make certain sacrifices in her favour in order to re-establish a proper balance of power. Whatever be the Englishman's dislike of Italian Fascism, he understands that it has preserved a number of traditional values and is not the

source of danger that is Nazi-ism. Recent speeches of Signor Mussolini, if the trappings of rhetoric are discarded, have been moderate in tone and the statement of claims against France, though vague, was not excessive. The quality of M. Daladier's reply has not aggravated the situation and hopes of a *rapprochement* are somewhat brighter. It is evident that the Italians have no desire to be rid of the Anglo-Italian agreement, and relations between these two countries are not particularly strained. It is risky to venture upon prophecy at the moment but should Europe escape war for the next six months or for a year, we think that an Anglo-French-Italian accord might easily be the result. What is true of Italy is even more true of the new Spain. Let the French carry out the conditions agreed upon when their Ambassador was accepted by Franco's Government; for they had promised to return "with the shortest possible delay" Spanish gold, arms and war material, along with merchant ships and all goods brought into France by refugees. Spain's greatest need and most obvious desire is for a long period of quiet internal reconstruction. That General Franco should declare his adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact was only to be expected: his country has suffered severely enough from the activities of the Comintern. This does not mean, however, that he wishes unfriendly relations with France or Great Britain.

Christian Principles

IN our present difficulties it is undoubtedly necessary to take precautions, to arm for national defence and to accept whatever reasonable sacrifices may be demanded of us for that purpose. It is still most important, however, that we preserve cool heads and be not carried away by a rush of national sentiment or hatred of other peoples. That would be to desert the ground of Christian thinking and to do grave harm to the cause of peace. We have to remind ourselves and others that it is only on the ground of these Christian principles that understanding and settlement can be secured. The conclusion of Lord Halifax's speech (April 19th) is worthy of very serious meditation. At the foundation of our civilization, he insisted, "are moral values which have been set up through the influence of Christianity and by observance, however imperfect, of Christian thought and action which have for centuries been the strongest single element in European life." Unless Europe is prepared, he continued, to return

to those principles, "we are not likely to make much progress either in personal or international relations." Some days prior to this utterance there appeared in *The Times* (April 15th) an admirable letter from Professor H. A. Smith. Because it emphasized this point which present fears and national antipathies may readily obscure, reference to some portions of it will serve a useful purpose. "The law of nations," we are reminded, "is a product of Catholic Christianity, both in its historical origin and in the content of its rules. . . In the absence of any effective common authority it was necessary to rely upon common principles. Such principles could only be found in the common acceptance of the Christian Faith which received a particular expression in the Christianized form of Roman Law." The position was not materially altered at the Reformation since "this Catholic basis of the law was fully accepted by the earliest Protestant jurists." To-day we are faced with the international consequences of the doctrine of State idolatry which has led to a denial of "the fundamental obligation of good faith" without which mutual understanding and, in the long run, peace cannot be guaranteed. We are back to power politics of a ruthless and particularly cynical kind. The remedy to which the writer points, and every Christian must agree with his judgment, can be found only in "an openly avowed return by the remaining Christian Powers to Christian principles of State action, both in external and internal affairs."

The Catholic Truth Society

THE Catholic Truth Society has deserved so well of Catholics both at home and throughout the English-speaking world that brief mention must here be made of its Annual Meeting which occurred on April 20th. The meeting was honoured by the presence of His Eminence Cardinal Hinsley who presided, of His Grace the Apostolic Delegate and of Bishops Myers and Mathew. The Report for 1938, presented by the Secretary, had its encouraging side. The first of the revived Conferences held at Brighton from the 9th to the 12th of September, was a definite success. There were two thousand five hundred participants and it was estimated that more than 12,000 attended the open-air Sunday Mass. Another venture worthy of record was the provision of a stall at the National Book Fair at Earls Court. The sale

of pamphlets during the past year reached the second largest total in the Society's history, namely, 1,421,587: and to this highly satisfactory number must be added those of over a quarter of a million leaflets and nearly 25,000 books. So far, so good. A less consoling feature was the fall in the amount contributed by subscriptions, this involving a decrease of more than £500 in comparison with the previous year. One or two northern centres showed a decline in membership. His Eminence, commenting on the invaluable services rendered to the cause of the Faith by the efforts of the Truth Society, expressed the hope and wish that its membership would soar rapidly from the 14,000 or so that it now is, to the more representative figure of 140,000. The late Holy Father's jubilee message to the Society contained the following sentence: "His most earnest desire is that they should do still more and still better." The work of the Catholic Truth Society is both excellent in itself and particularly suited to to-day's needs when more and more of those outside the Church are looking to her for help and guidance. We trust that much more Catholic support will be given to this admirable apostolate of pen and press. True to its name the C.T.S. has vigorously and for so long upheld the standard of Catholic Truth.

Palestine

THE MONTH does not publish articles on political questions except where there is a definite point of Catholic interest. In this number will be found a contribution entitled "The Policy of the Ostrich in Palestine." Its author, Sir Michael McDonnell, a distinguished Catholic, has had exceptional experience of conditions in that country where he acted as Chief Justice for ten years from 1927 to 1937. The partial occasion of the article was the appearance of Mr. J. M. N. Jeffries's book entitled "Palestine: the Reality" to which reference has been made in the Editorial Comments for last month. It was there pointed out of what great interest to Catholics throughout the world the settlement of Palestine must inevitably be. The stern warning uttered by Cardinal Bourne after a visit to Palestine and Rome in 1921 was there recorded. The article in the present issue shows all too clearly how fully that warning was justified and—unfortunately—how little it has been heeded.

THREE SURPRISING MYSTICS

III. MARIA CORONEL DE AGREDA¹

IN the year 1652 a situation existed in Spain which has notable points of resemblance with that happily brought to an end a few weeks ago by the victory of General Franco. Under the weak rule of Philip IV Catalonia had revolted and was maintaining a prolonged resistance against the military forces of the crown. Barcelona, however, after ten years of conflict, was at last being resolutely besieged and the position of its defenders was precarious. On the land side the royal army under the Marquess of Mortara was threatening an assault, while in the Mediterranean Philip's fleet, commanded by Don Juan of Austria, his illegitimate son, was blockading the port to prevent the entrance of food supplies. The Regency Government of Louis XIV, who was then a boy of fourteen, was, of course, encouraging the rebellion of the Catalans, and Marshal de la Mothe-Houdancourt, with some 6,000 or 7,000 French troops, had thrown himself into the beleaguered city to conduct the defence. Much depended upon the French fleet which was expected to bring provisions from Toulon, but the Admiral, owing to unfavourable winds and the superior strength of the Spanish navy, put back into harbour without effecting his purpose. In these circumstances Philip wrote in unusually good spirits to Maria de Jesus, the Abbess of the Franciscan convent of the Immaculate Conception at Agreda, earnestly begging her to continue her prayers for the success of his arms. "This was," says Martin Hume, "the famous saintly nun upon whose wise and patient counsel the King depended in all things, and to whom alone in this world he bared his seared and suffering heart."²

There is no reason to think such words exaggerated. The whole correspondence between Philip and Sor Maria runs to no less than 614 letters covering a period of a little over twenty years. They supply clear proof that the Abbess gave him excellent advice. She is respectful and sympathetic in writing to the rather despondent monarch—he certainly had many sorrows and endless reverses of fortune—but she is

¹ It may not be out of place to point out that in the pronunciation of this word the accent falls on the first syllable.

² The "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. IV, p. 658.

never sycophantic. She puts plainly before him those high religious principles upon which a Christian sovereign should base his conduct, and very tactfully and delicately hints that he should purify his court and his own soul. Nowhere do we get the impression that the nun is trying to turn these intimate relations with her sovereign to profit either for her own benefit or that of her community. Philip himself was far from being a saintly person. His private life and his relations with women were not notably more free from scandals than those of other contemporary rulers, but if he was weak, he was not stupid or incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong. He seems to have clung to Sor Maria's counsel and prayers, much as he might have clung to a lifebuoy, hoping that they would save him from final catastrophe. I think there was something of real affection between this strangely-assorted pair—Maria was not even a lady of noble birth¹—and their mutual apprehensions regarding each other's health can hardly, I believe, be treated as no more than the polite compliments of Spanish courtesy. The King was really worried when she was ill. It seemed to him that his sheet-anchor was dragging.

On this particular occasion of the siege of Barcelona in 1652, Philip, writing from Madrid on September 2nd, tells her that he had heard, some days before, that there was not corn enough in the city to last beyond the end of August.² Maria, in her reply, dated September 13th, says, one might think, rather callously:

Since the good success of your efforts depends upon the condition that provisions are prevented from entering the town, and since only stress of famine can break down their rebellious hearts, I hope that they will feel its effects. It is a less evil for them than the disobedience and obstinacy which they maintain against their lord and natural King.³

¹ Her biographers maintain that the middle-class family to which she belonged had come down in the world but there seems to be no specific evidence of noble ancestry.

² The end was not so near as Philip thought. On October 2nd he writes again to say that though the besieged were reduced to a ration of five ounces of bread a day and six ounces of horse-flesh, they still refused to surrender. The final capitulation did not come about until October 10th.

³ Her actual words in the autograph letter still preserved are "que como el buen suceso de la ympresa consiste en que no les entren viberes, y solo con ambre se pueden rendir aquellos rebeldes coraçones, deseo la padezean, que menos daño es para ellos que la desobediencia y obstinacion que tienen con su Señor y Rey natural." See the edition of these letters published in 1886 by

The nun who was thus the honoured recipient of some three hundred holograph letters from her sovereign, was the daughter of a certain Francisco Coronel, a man, seemingly of the burgher class, living in the little town of Agreda on the borders of Old Castile and Aragon. Maria was born in 1602 and she had barely reached her fifteenth year when the household was completely broken up. Her two surviving brothers, and eventually the father, had left home and joined a community of Franciscan friars established many miles away, while she, and a sister younger than herself, together with their mother, converted the house in which they had lived into a convent. Three or four professed nuns following the Rule of St. Clare came to Agreda from Burgos, and the Coronel ladies, after a requisite period of probation, were allowed to take vows in this discaled community of the same Order. If we can credit the account left us by her Franciscan biographer, Father Samaniego, who was with her at the close of her life and who ended by becoming Bishop of Plasencia in 1682, Maria's childhood and adolescence were filled with marvels. Before she came to the use of reason, a vision of God was vouchsafed to her by which she attained to an understanding of His supreme dominion as the Creator and First Cause. Our Lady and the saints made their presence visibly manifest, but so also did the spirits of evil in hideous forms threatening and tempting her. She was alarmingly delicate, suffering all kinds of infirmities which seemed to render her at times incapable of the simplest household work, but, in spite of that, she practised severe austerities, torturing her body, depriving herself of food, and spending most of the night in prayer. As a rule she gave, we are told, only two hours to sleep. At the age of eighteen she began to have ecstasies, but she felt bound to use every effort to resist them as a singularity. The violence she did to herself was so great that in the struggle to maintain self-command she often vomited blood. The ecstasies, nevertheless, became gradually more and more frequent and they were marked, as in the case of so many other visionaries, by complete insensibility to all normal forms of external disturbance.

Three points in Father Samaniego's description of Sor Maria's mystical experiences seem specially worthy of notice.

Don Francisco Silvela, Vol. II, p. 184 (letter 328). The King used to fold a sheet of paper vertically in the middle and wrote on one half, while Maria was directed to write her reply on the blank half and return the sheet to him. Thus he made certain of getting his own letter back.

The first I am quite prepared to believe as a statement of fact, both because very similar things seem to be attested on good evidence in the case of such ecstasies as Anne Catherine Emmerich, Louise Lateau and others, and also because the biographer acquired his information, not from the nun herself, but from his Franciscan brethren who had known Maria well at an earlier date. It is averred that when she knelt or stood entranced, impervious to all attempts to rouse her, however physically violent, a simple order of obedience from legitimate authority, even though no word was spoken aloud, produced an immediate response. The Franciscan Provincial, Father Antonio de Villacre, was seemingly the first to make such an experiment. When Maria was in an ecstasy after Communion he went to the convent (without, of course, entering the enclosure) and there from outside he mentally desired the entranced nun to come to speak with him in the parlour through the grille. She reacted, we are told, at once to this silent appeal, and came straight to the room, full of wonder, to ask him what he wanted her for. Then the same experiment was tried by her own Superior—this was before Maria was herself made Abbess—as well as by the Bishop and others, and we are given to understand that it was always successful.

The second phenomenon was that in these ecstasies Sor Maria, without being visibly raised from the ground, was not actually in contact with it. It was as if she had lost her natural weight and was floating in the air. The nuns found that if they blew in her direction her body swayed with their breath, just as a feather or a leaf might have done. From the account given by Father Samaniego it seems clear that the ecstasies became for a while a sort of public spectacle in Agreda. One or two indiscreet members of the community had whispered about this marvel to friends in the town. Of course, they all wanted to see; and, though the enclosure was not actually broken, a way was found by which one person or another from outside was enabled to peep through the grille and even puff through it in a way to move the unconscious floating form of the Sister. Owing to the fact of her complete insensibility the nuns, very proud of this marvellous exhibition of sanctity, were able to shift her position to a place conveniently accessible for the observation of visitors, and also to remove her veil for a time so that the radiance of her countenance during the ecstasy might not be hidden from

view. All this publicity was undoubtedly a mischievous abuse which must have interfered seriously with the recollection and discipline necessary for the observance of an austere rule. It may be remembered, however, that at this date the convent was newly founded, the community as yet very small, and the building ill-adapted for its religious purpose. When Maria herself was elected Abbess in 1627, she at once set about building a new convent.

Meanwhile, the irregularities just described went on for some time, since Maria had no suspicion of what was taking place. In the end the facts were made known to her by some simple mendicant at the gate who made a reference to them in her presence. Her humiliation and shame, we are told, were indescribable. She stormed heaven with prayers that these outward manifestations of God's favour should cease, and her petition, it seems, was granted. We hear no more of any occasions when she was entranced in public, even if none were present but her own religious sisters. On the other hand, the need of more strict discipline was recognized. Two nuns belonging to a very austere convent of the same Order were brought from Madrid, and a year or two later Maria was herself elected Abbess. As at this date (1627) she was not yet quite twenty-five years old, a dispensation had to be obtained from Rome. With the exception of one short period of three years, she was continually re-elected to this dignity down to the time of her death in May, 1665. Philip IV felt her loss deeply and he himself only survived her by four months.

Concerning the curious form of levitation just described, some of my readers may perhaps recall the case of the nun Beatrice of Granada who, without being raised perceptibly from the ground, seemed to be swayed by any slight breeze as if she were floating in the air.¹ Bertram, Earl of Shrewsbury, also gives an account of the visits he paid in 1842 to the ecstasica Domenica Barbagli in the Italian Tyrol, and he narrates how he watched her in this state of unconsciousness swing to and fro as he and others gently blew at her.²

The third unusual experience which Maria's biographers have recounted at length belonged to the same period of her life and is a supposed marvel of bilocation. This was not confined to a single occasion but is said to have happened to her "five hundred times" or more, both by day and night, dur-

¹ *THE MONTH*, October, 1936, p. 345.

² "Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Esq.," 2nd Edition, 1842, pp. 75-77.

ing the course of many months. She believed that she was transported to Mexico and there was brought into contact with a native tribe, with whom she conversed, instructing them in the principles of the Christian Faith. In the course of these peregrinations she became aware that there was a band of missionaries (of her own Franciscan Order, of course) already preaching the Gospel in another part of Mexico. She accordingly directed her converts how to make their way to this distant missionary settlement. There they received baptism, and on being shown a portrait of another Franciscan nun, they at once recognized the habit as identical with that of the visitor from afar who had so mysteriously descended upon them. Sor Maria at first said little or nothing of these voyages beyond seas. She was filled with misgivings, we are told, fearing hallucination. It happened, however, that she remembered that on one of her journeys she had distributed a number of rosaries to her Indians. Later on, when she came to look for the supply of these chaplets which she kept in her cell, she found that not one was left. Her confessor being told of this, and having been given a description of the land she had visited and the customs of the natives, was satisfied that there had been no delusion. He reassured her and encouraged her to proceed. In 1630, Father Alonzo de Benavides, who was then in charge of the mission of New Mexico, was summoned back to Europe. He is said to have brought a strange story of a Mexican tribe of Indians who declared that they had been visited and instructed by an unknown woman who bade them seek baptism. Father Benavides was directed by his Superiors to visit Maria at Agreda and we are told that he satisfied himself that she was in truth the woman concerned. It may be remembered that Teresa Higginson was similarly persuaded that while fulfilling the duties of a schoolteacher in Bootle, she had visited on many occasions groups of savages in Africa whom she had instructed and baptized. Maria, at any rate, seems to have stopped short of administering the sacrament herself, and in her case there purported to be independent evidence attesting the belief of the natives that a woman had come to them from afar. There would be much to say on this curious incident, but I must content myself with remarking that the telepathic visualizing of conditions at a distance does not seem to involve of necessity any preternatural agency. Dr. Haddock's ignorant maid-servant Emma, passing into trance in Lancashire, was able

to describe scenes in Australia, Egypt, California, and the Arctic Circle, of which she certainly had no previous knowledge.¹ On the other hand, if the ecstasica, Anne Catherine Emmerich, seemed to be well-informed about scenes, customs and place-names in Palestine and Cyprus, there were at the same time so many errors and misconceptions in her account that it would be difficult to attribute her disclosures to any supernatural revelation properly so-called.

But so far as Sor Maria de Agreda is famous—and it must be admitted that for more than two centuries she has been the subject of heated discussion in Spain, France and Central Europe—the interest has centred almost entirely in her great book of revelations, the “*Mystica Ciudad de Dios*.” This “*Mystical City of God*” is simply an enormously long Life of our Blessed Lady² interspersed with moral reflexions, the greater part of which purports to have been taken down, practically speaking, from the lips of the Mother of God or of her Divine Son, or of the Almighty Father Himself. It is this claim to unflinching exactitude which must at once prejudice unfavourably the reader who is at all intimately acquainted with the revelations of St. Gertrude, St. Bridget, Anne Catherine Emmerich, Christina of Stommeln, and other similar visionaries. Maria at the very outset of her task represents God the Father Almighty as saying to her: “I do not wish this narrative to be a matter of opinions or reflexions but the very truth.”³ So again the Abbess declares further on, referring to this previous direction of the Almighty: “He willed me to write the whole work, leaving aside personal impressions (*sin opiniones*), with nothing but the truth which the divine light would teach me.”⁴ And once more, at the conclusion of her task Maria tells us how our Lady appeared to her and approved of all she had written, declaring in particular “if anyone have the temerity to alter anything of what has been set down under my supervision, or should make slight account of this work of grace, the story of my life as it now stands written, let him understand that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God as

¹ See two articles on “The Knowledge of Things Distant” in *THE MONTH* for December, 1926 and May, 1927, more particularly pp. 489–493 in the earlier of these articles.

² All the early editions of the Spanish text, and there are many, were published in three folio volumes.

³ “*Mystica Ciudad de Dios*,” Part I, § 10: “No quiero que sea esta descripcion y declaracion de su vida, opiniones ni contemplaciones, sino la verdad cierta.”

⁴ *Ibid.*, Part II, § 678.

well as mine, and that he will be punished, in this life and in the next, with all the rigour of the divine justice."¹ Do we not recognize here an anticipation of the voice of Teresa Higginson invoking anathemas upon all who shall speak disparagingly of her devotion to our Lord's Sacred Head?

The curious thing is that Maria herself seems always to have been haunted by a doubt whether the series of these revelations was not an illusion. Of course, she represents this doubt as being merely a temptation of the devil, and this was also what her directors told her, but she could not shake it off.² She had begun to write the "Mystical City of God" in 1637, and it was completed about the year 1643. Shortly after this her beloved confessor, Fray Andr  s de la Torre, was called away for other duties, and the confessor who succeeded him, an old man who knew her less well, ordered her, or at any rate permitted her, to burn her whole manuscript.³ Thus the original autograph perished, but it seems that a complete copy had been made and sent, at his own urgent request, to King Philip IV, and there were also some other imperfect transcripts. Eight years later, in 1651, yielding to admonitions from on high and also to the express command of her Franciscan directors, Maria set about the whole vast undertaking again and finished it, as we have it now, in 1660.⁴ Father Samaniego, who was both the editor of the work for the press and also her biographer, declares, seemingly after comparison with Philip IV's copy of the earlier version, that, except for a few additions and marginal notes, the second version reproduced the text of the original word for word,⁵ a circumstance which strongly inclines me to believe that the whole composition was an early example of what we nowadays call automatism. A great many honest people, in no way under suspicion of co-operating with evil or diabolical influ-

¹ "Mystica Ciudad de Dios," Part III, cap. 23, § 9, in the letter to her daughters in religion.

² *Ibid.*, Part III, cap. 23, § 16. The devil, she says, kept telling her "que todo lo que escribia es imaginacion mia,   discurso natural; otras vezes, que era falso y para enga  ar al mundo."

³ From what Maria says in the Introduction to the first part of her work § 15 she was so dissatisfied with its inadequacy "que me rendi   quemarla," which seems to suggest that the initiative came from her. On the other hand in § 19 she implies that the new confessor told her to burn it because women had no business to write such treatises for the instruction of the Church.

⁴ Sor Maria evidently attached supreme importance to this work of rewriting the "Ciudad de Dios." We learn from Samaniego (Biography, § 33) that before she began she spent 62 days, from August 18 to October 18, 1651, in examining her conscience, and then a further 13 days in making a general confession (!). Surely there was something of extravagance in all this.

⁵ See the "Prologo Galeato" of Father Samaniego prefixed by him to the "Mystica Ciudad de Dios," § 94.

ences, readily pass into a state in which their subconscious mind produces writings often quite beyond the range of their normal knowledge or ideas. There can be no reason for supposing that this curious faculty has only come into existence since psychic research and Spiritualism began to call attention to it. The faculty must have been there always, though it is only of recent years that it has been purposely cultivated and that psychologists have recognized it for what it is. To deny its reality would be purely foolish, as that most sceptical of psychic researchers, the late Dr. W. Franklin Prince, has conclusively shown in his careful study of the case of "Patience Worth." I am inclined to believe, then, that the so-called revelations of St. Hildegard, St. Elizabeth of Schönau and some others, as well as those of Maria de Agreda, all belong to much the same class of compositions as the "Cleophas Scripts" of Miss Geraldine Cummins. It would need a treatise to discuss the matter adequately. I can only add here that in my opinion it would be a mistake to suppose that those who produce such scripts must always necessarily be conscious of giving consent that some apparently external intelligence should write with their hand.

Be all this as it may, it is plain that Maria, in spite of her earlier misgivings, was persuaded at the end that every word of her story bore the seal of divine inspiration. In the very last section of her great work she tells us that she was rapt out of herself and brought before the throne of God. There she saw how marvellous lights were directing their rays to the four quarters of the earth and she was given to understand that this figured the extension to all the world of such a realization of the glory and power of the Most Blessed Virgin as had never been known before. But she also witnessed at the same time a terrible assemblage of evil spirits who were making plans to obscure and frustrate this enlightenment. The sight filled her again with the fear that she had been unfaithful in the execution of the task imposed upon her. Then there seemed to be a period of silence and expectation throughout the heavenly court while the Eternal Father drew from His bosom a beautiful book adorned with incredible richness. The book was closed, but the Father, handing it to His Divine Son, proclaimed: "This book and all contained in it is Mine. It is supremely pleasing to Me." Then the Son took the book with marks of respect, and pressing it to His breast repeated the words of the Father, as like-

wise did the Holy Ghost. After that it was given to the Most Blessed Virgin who received it with unimaginable delight (*con incomparable agrado y gusto*). Meanwhile, the Abbess Maria who had been brought from earth to assist at this spectacle, was filled, as she tells us, with wonder and curiosity, but reverence prevented her from asking any question.

Then [she goes on] the Queen of Heaven called me and said: "Do you wish to know what this book is which you have seen? Be attentive and look at it closely." And the Blessed Mother opened it and presented it to me so that I could read it. I read and I perceived that it was no other than the history of her holy life in the same order and with the same divisions which I had followed in writing it. She did this to allay my fears.

Lack of space unfortunately prevents me from giving any adequate account of the numberless details and incidents in this book which make it incredible as a work of serious history,¹ though from the point of view of style we are assured by competent judges that it is a classic of seventeenth-century Spanish literature. Nearly all the familiar stories of the New Testament apocrypha, including, of course, the legend of the birth of the Blessed Virgin and its dependence upon the meeting of Saints Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, the recall of the Apostles to assist at her deathbed, the formation of the creed by each of the twelve enunciating an article in turn, with many other hoary fictions, are all detailed at length with suitable moral reflections. God completed the work of creation in six natural days, beginning on March 25, which was also the date of the Annunciation and of the Crucifixion of our Saviour. The world had existed for exactly 5199 years when Jesus Christ was born, and Sor Maria is positive about it, because at the request of some learned Franciscans she consulted our Lady on the point, who assured her that this, the figure given in the Roman Martyrology, was absolutely

¹ It is well known that the "Ciudad de Dios," partly on account of certain doctrinal statements and implications contained in the text, partly on historical grounds, encountered tremendous opposition in many quarters. It was at different times condemned by the Inquisition and afterwards declared free from censure; put on the Index of forbidden books and then again permitted. See Pastor, "Geschichte der Päpste," Vol. XVI, part i, p. 225 and part ii, pp. 121 and 135. The Sorbonne attacked the book violently, and in Germany Eusebius Amort published a detailed analysis pointing out the many strange and incredible statements presented as historical facts. Still, Amort himself does not dispute the virtue, he even says the heroic virtue, of the writer. See his treatise "De Revelationibus," Vol. II, pp. 218-219.

right. I have room for only one example of the things which must awaken the violent protest of every student who possesses even the rudiments of historical training. Maria professes to reproduce the text of the sentence which Pilate delivered from the judgment seat. She says that there were copies already in print, but that whereas they were inexact, her version is accurate. It is a document of some 500 words, and it was dated by Pilate: "In the year of the creation of the world five thousand two hundred thirty and three, on the 25th day of March." To show how anxious she was to convey an exact idea of the forms observed, she presents the signature in the original Latin, *i.e.*, "Pontius Pilatus, Judex et Gubernator Galileæ inferioris, pro Romano Imperio, qui supra, propria manu." This long document is said to have been transcribed in full and read aloud, not only once by Pilate, but several times on the way to Calvary. On that crowded morning of the *parasceve* this surely would have been a little difficult.

It need not, I trust, be said that in these three studies of deeply religious women I have had no thought of directing a campaign against mysticism itself. They were all courageous, generous and most mortified servants of God who did immense good and made a profound impression upon all who came in contact with them. But if anyone, on the ground of their ardent aspirations and high standard of self-conquest, regards their alleged communications with the next world as warranting belief in a divine guidance and supernatural knowledge imparted to such souls, it seems to me that his conclusion is a rash one. The element of mental health has to be considered, and hysteria, while it is itself no bar to sanctity and may not involve any form of self-seeking, is singularly apt to lend itself to exaggerations and pervert the sober judgment.

HERBERT THURSTON.

EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 3,500 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in the "Month," if accepted. As a general rule, subjects dealing with the exposition of theology and ethics are reserved to the staff.

ALBAN GOODIER (1869 – 1939)

"IT is no exaggeration to say that he produced this effect least by the material work he did, most by the spirit which stirred within him, and which he awoke in others." So wrote Alban Goodier in his preface to the "Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius Loyola," the first volume of the Catholic Library which he planned in 1913. The words were prophetic of his own life and influence. In Bombay as Rector and lecturer at St. Xavier's College he did much to raise the academic prestige of the Catholic body. Four years later as Archbishop he left his mark on the spiritual, moral and social life of the great city and its environs. St. Catherine's Rescue Home at Andheri, St. Anthony's Home for the Destitute, St. Elizabeth's Nursing Home are his monuments. His name was known far and wide over India, and his ten years' apostolate was most fruitful.

Yet it was in his fourteen years' retirement in England, from 1925 to 1939, that he was best known and that his influence reached its zenith. It was exercised through his writings, but much more by personal contact, direct or indirect. Of his warmest admirers—and they are many, both ecclesiastical and lay—not a few are to be found among those who made retreats under him, and who thus experienced the spirit which stirred within him and which he awoke in them.

For Alban Goodier was no ordinary soul. He possessed great human gifts—intelligence, refinement, sympathy, an instinctive artistry, simplicity, directness. While not a scholar in the technical sense, he yet had a scholarly mind, orderly, methodical, painstaking, discerning, with an unerring sense of the relevant and irrelevant in any subject he treated. His natural aptitude was for contemplation rather than for action. He could rule, as he showed in Bombay. But from an almost too deeply-felt sympathy for the views of opponents the work of government was always uncongenial to him. His very gifts hampered him in the rough and tumble of diplomatic life and inclined him to despond prematurely. And if his strong sense of duty forbade him to yield to the temptation, it none the less placed obstacles in his path which a rougher, less sensitive nature might not have encountered.

On such a foundation was his supernatural life based,

strong and vigorous, yet always gentle and understanding. Apart from the firmly moulding influence of inherited Catholic Faith and tradition, fostered and deepened by his life as boy and master at Stonyhurst, its strongest formative agency was the Spiritual Exercises. His writings all bear testimony to this. The titles of many of them show that they are but developments of the ideas of the Exercises—"Christ the Model of Manhood," "The Passion and Death of our Lord," "The Risen Jesus," "The Life that was Light," and, above all, "The Public Life of our Lord." All alike are Christocentric and reflect the spiritual ideals of the disciple of St. Ignatius. The Christ of whom he wrote was not the Christ of historical study and research, but as he himself avers in his preface to "The Public Life," the living Christ of yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The whole effort of his writing and teaching was to make this Christ real for the men and women of his time.

Alban Goodier was born on April 14, 1869, at Great Harwood, then a small country town, a few miles due west of Burnley in Lancashire. His family was strongly and traditionally Catholic, and from the first he was surrounded by all the formative influences of Catholic home life at its best. "He thanks God every day," he writes in his preface to "The Inner Life of the Catholic," "for the gift of Faith which came to him as an infant." It was obvious that the boy should go to Stonyhurst, the Jesuit school ten miles away on the other side of the Calder valley, rich in historical tradition and its vivid memories of recusant English Catholic life at St. Omer's and Liège. He was fond of recalling how deep was the impression which his years at Stonyhurst left on his developing Faith, and how it was strengthened and confirmed by its historic treasures and its living continuity with the past. On September 7, 1887, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Roehampton.

The years of formation, spiritual and intellectual, followed, including five years of teaching at Stonyhurst. In 1903 he was ordained and after his year's tertianship at Tronchiennes, he received his first appointment as a priest, that of professor of Classics at Manresa House, Roehampton. Three years later he was put in complete control of the studies of the Juniorate, a post he was to retain until his appointment in 1914 as Prefect of Studies and later Rector of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Father Daniel Considine was his Rector

during his first years at Roehampton, and the Archbishop often acknowledged how much he owed to his Rector's wise, if sometimes repressive, direction. But for a nature such as his a wise repression was no more than a skilful pruning to safeguard the promise of the future.

It was in these years at Roehampton that he acted as chaplain to the Sacred Heart Convent, and so came into close contact with Mother Janet Stuart, a kindred spirit to his own. His appreciation of her after her death might almost have been written of himself: "Her very temperament exposed her to a larger share of suffering than falls to many people. The aspirations and cravings of her soul—the sense of distance and aloneness that enclosed her for years—the constant giving with no apparent return, these things would sometimes overwhelm her and often drove her into herself where none could follow, or out to the work of God where she might hide from herself" ("Life and Letters of J. E. Stuart," p. 174). No friend of the Archbishop's but will recognize an autobiographical touch here, unconscious no doubt, but none the less real.

The years at Manresa were among the happiest of his life. His relations with his Juniors were uniformly pleasant. He was at the height of his powers as a teacher and the work interested him absorbingly. The vacations gave him opportunity of making other contacts, and he soon became much sought after as a retreat-giver. Meanwhile, he was reading widely in English, but especially in ascetics and hagiography, a course which was to bear fruit many years later in his lectures at Heythrop on Ascetical and Mystical Theology. He conceived and successfully carried out the plan of a Catholic Library (after the manner of the Everyman series) to consist of reprints of Catholic classics, as well as of original work. Some twelve or fourteen volumes were published by the Manresa Press; but the venture was killed by the War and by his own transfer to Bombay. At this time, too, his ideas began to shape themselves more and more along the main lines of the Spiritual Exercises. For years he had cherished an ambition of writing a Life of Christ which should endeavour to exhibit His supreme attraction for and power over the human heart.

It will be in place here to say something of his retreat work which formed so important a part of his life's achievement and was so far-reaching in its influence. While there are many

competent retreat-givers, it is given to few really to excel in that subtle combination of qualities which go to make the master, and Alban Goodier was one of the few. His retreats were always based on the Spiritual Exercises. Their form, their orderly development, the heights to which they led, were all thoroughly Ignatian. But one of the secrets of the Exercises (and there are many) lies in their indefinite adaptability and pliability to the character and circumstances of the exercitant. Without such adaptation they can easily become rigid and formal, "the sad mechanic exercise," so obvious, and so beloved of the undiscerning caricaturist. Apart from his personal holiness, the Archbishop's power as a retreat-giver lay just here—his sympathy with his audience, his quick appreciation of their needs, and his gift of applying and developing the meditations of the Exercises along the lines of an understanding and personal message to themselves. He used to say that he had only one retreat which he gave indifferently to the clergy, to Religious, and to laymen. That was true inasmuch as the backbone of his retreats was always the same, the meditations of the Exercises. But his method of treatment, his illustrations, his applications were as varied as the mentality of the audiences he was addressing. One thing alone was always the same, his intelligent sympathy and his entire devotion during the retreat to their spiritual interests and needs. There was also the contact of mind with mind, of an intelligence that was cultured, refined, experienced, and with no trace of narrowness; and above all of heart with heart. The generosity of his own dispositions was an inspiration to the self-centred and egotistic, and still more to the wounded or bruised soul for which the shocks of life had been well nigh too severe. If now we add to this his own radiant holiness, his deep appreciation of spiritual things, his almost Pauline love of Christ, which for all its loveliness abated no jot of its gospel of pain and suffering, we have the key to the undoubted success of his retreats.

With all this too he was detached. There was a certain elusiveness about him, a supernatural aloofness, which added to his power. For he was a true ascetic, but with an asceticism which attracted rather than repelled. You felt that he lived with God, yet so as to energize rather than atrophy his natural human qualities of sympathy and affectionateness, much as you feel it in Teresa of Avila or John of the Cross. There were times when he felt poignantly and when his sense of

frustration, whether in his own work or in that of the Church, seemed to fill his horizon. But these were but passing moods revealed only to his intimates. Habitually he lived in that serenity of outlook, that trust in God, and that confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth which he displays so masterfully in his "The Inner Life of the Catholic."

His career in Bombay began in 1914, when he was appointed Director of Studies and lecturer at St. Xavier's College. From the beginning his success was assured. He brought to his work a vigour of mind, a freshness of outlook, and a sympathetic knowledge of English Literature, the subject in which he lectured, which made an immediate impression. In a very short time he had made valuable acquaintances in university circles, among the diverse Indian people of Bombay, and with British Government officials. The immediate result was a welcome increase in prestige for the Catholic community in the city, a prestige considerably heightened when he was appointed Rector of the College in 1917. Two years later he was consecrated Archbishop.

Of the success of his pastoral work as Archbishop of Bombay there can be no doubt. We have already mentioned the standing monuments of charity which will always enshrine his memory. Of the intricate and very complex questions of ecclesiastical policy which faced an Archbishop at that date the present writer is not qualified to speak. What is certain is that to Archbishop Goodier they were his greatest cross. With unwearied patience he set himself to the task of unravelling a very complicated skein. The strain both mental and physical was severe. Every element in the tangled situation was entirely new and unfamiliar. Decisions were difficult to take and always attended with risks. Small wonder that, as he wrote of Mother Stuart, these things "would sometimes overwhelm him and often drove him into himself where none could follow." Soon his health began for the first time to trouble him. He suffered from quite unexpected fainting fits, often mercifully concealed from others, and which he lightly dismissed as slight heart attacks. Meanwhile, he was on the right lines, and the solution he suggested was that ultimately adopted by the Holy See.

In the early days of 1925 he decided to sail for Rome with a view to giving a personal account of the situation to the Congregation of Propaganda. In the now uncertain state of his health he felt that he might lack the physical energy re-

quired for the inauguration and successful carrying out of a new policy, and he therefore placed his resignation in the hands of the Cardinal Prefect. After much deliberation it was accepted, and in March he returned to England.

Here, little though he suspected it, he was to begin fourteen years of most diversified but fruitful work. When he arrived in London, he had no very definite plans. He was tired and in need of rest, and he decided to let work come to him rather than to seek it out. It came in abundance. From the beginning Cardinal Bourne welcomed him with outstretched arms. His kindness met with an immediate response from the Archbishop, who offered himself to help in any way he could, in the immense work which devolves on the Ordinary of Westminster. The latter was beginning to feel his years and readily accepted the Archbishop's offer. The result was that he took the Cardinal's place at innumerable gatherings, became Chairman of various societies and committees, and preached a good deal on special occasions up and down the London area. He also served in an advisory capacity at the India Office. For some time he accepted the direction of the Westminster house for Late Vocations at Edmonton, then the office of Coadjutor to the Cardinal, to be combined with the parochial charge of the church of St. Mary, Cadogan Gardens. But he soon began to feel that these offices were incompatible, and that he must either neglect his work as parish priest or not be free to be of assistance to the Cardinal. He felt, in fact, that between the two he was dissipating his energies with no very tangible result. Moreover, the confined atmosphere of London was not favourable to his health, and he began to suffer from insomnia and from a slowly increasing debility which took its toll, though he did not allow it to interfere with his official work. He began, in fact, to feel that his time was limited and that he must husband it, if he wished to carry out projects which had by now definitely formed themselves. There were books he wished to write, especially that *Life of Christ* which had been his ambition since his Roehampton days and for which he had so much matter collected if only he had the leisure to use it.

Providentially an opening occurred and escape became possible. The chaplain of the Benedictine convent at Teignmouth had been compelled by ill-health to ask for long leave of absence, and the Archbishop was invited to take his place

for the time being. Thus began his connexion with Teignmouth which was never severed till his death. The position was ideal. The place was restful and quiet. It was removed from London, yet not too far. He was free from telephones and callers. His time was his own, and the convent surroundings were thoroughly congenial.

His literary output now began in earnest. Within a few years he wrote "Jesus Christ Model of Manhood," "About the Old Testament," "The Bible for Every Day," "The Inner Life of a Catholic," "The Life that was Light," and, what he always regarded as his chief work, "The Public Life of our Lord." And the list is by no means exhaustive. In addition to this he reviewed regularly for *THE MONTH* to which, as well as to other periodicals, he not infrequently contributed.

It was at this time, too, that his retreat work grew enormously. He was frequently engaged two years ahead and had to refuse almost as many applications as he accepted. He always gave preference to clergy retreats or retreats to Religious men. In regard to convents he made it a rule to break no new ground, that is, he refused all applications from Institutes to whose communities he had not given retreats before these days at Teignmouth.

As a preacher for special occasions—for which he was now much in demand—he was singularly effective. His manner was simple in the extreme yet impressive from its very simplicity. He always spoke as one having a message for his audience, the full import of which he would not then convey. There was much more to be said on the subject than the time at his disposal or the nature of the occasion would perhaps allow. He thus left his hearers with a desire for more. What they had heard was excellent; but there was so much besides that they would willingly hear from him. He spoke, too, as one with a deep fund of experience of men and their ways, their weakness and their greatness, more often of their greatness, and of heroic lives lived under trying conditions. But back of it all was an intense earnestness and a deep and infectious conviction that Christ and His teaching were the sole solution of the world's troubles. Even here he never hectored or declaimed; but he unfailingly conveyed the depth of his own conviction and the ardent love with which he announced it.

During the last five or six years of his life he lectured at Heythorp on Ascetical Theology. His lectures were both

historical and dogmatic, covering the whole field from the apostolic age down to our own day. All who heard them are agreed that they were models of concise exposition combined with lucidity and depth. He received the compliment, unique surely for a theological lecturer, of a request from those who had followed the course, to be allowed to attend it a second time. The lectures have since been published by Burns, Oates & Washbourne under the title "*An Introduction to Ascetical and Mystical Theology*." They are an illuminating document on the interior life of the Archbishop.

His teaching on Prayer had already been concisely stated in two sentences in the preface to "*The Life that was Light*": "Prayer is one's own realization of God and the supernatural, not the mere analysis of spiritual things." And again: "Prayer is thought raised to vision. It is abstraction turned to reality." The ideas thus briefly formulated are developed at length in the "*Introduction*," pp. 130—209. The subject is too vast to be dealt with at the end of an article. It is enough to say that the Archbishop's treatment of Prayer is convincing proof that he was here no amateur, that he had both read and thought deeply, and that his teaching was no mere theory evolved for the occasion, but the outcome of personal practice and experience. He was rarely moved to scorn; but he could be tempted to something not unlike it by ill-informed, self-satisfied criticism of Prayer and its methods by writers who showed in every line that they had still to learn the first rudiments of the subject they had felt emboldened to discuss.

For some years he had known that his fainting fits were a serious symptom and that the trouble was angina. He had seen a heart specialist on one of his visits to London from Teignmouth, and he reported this authoritative diagnosis with his familiar twisted smile. It made no difference whatever to his life and he never referred to it again. He knew, however, that the end might come suddenly. The knowledge only stimulated him to make the most for work of the day that was left to him in view of the night coming when no man can work. When the end came with dramatic swiftness, it did not find him unprepared. After a Requiem Mass at Farm Street he was buried in the cemetery attached to Manresa House, Roehampton, where his priestly work had begun and where his young manhood had taken its life's impress.

HENRY KEANE.

A SINISTER CENTENARY

(1539—1939)

JUST four hundred years ago, the last Parliament in which the bishops, the abbots and the peerage of England were all represented, met at Westminster. That Parliament passed an Act—it was first read in the House of Lords on May 13, 1539—by which all monastic property which had come, or was to come, into the royal hands “by supercession, dissolution, or surrender” was granted to the King and to his heirs for ever. By this Act the sanction of the High Court of Parliament was formally given to the destruction of the last of the old English monasteries.

Since that date much has been said about medieval English monasticism, both in its favour, and in savage vilification. For centuries the *comperta* and the letters of Thomas Cromwell’s agents were widely accepted, if not as an entirely true picture, at least as some indication of the condition of the monasteries. It was argued that if only a tithe of their accusations were justified, reform was essential and destruction almost inevitable. The thunder of Cobbett perhaps first seriously disturbed this easy complacency. But early nineteenth-century England tried to ignore him, and then, when he was dead, forgot. His echo lingers in Disraeli’s “Sybil,” but, in general, the views of the Victorians were those of Froude.

But then in the closing decades of the last century, came Gasquet’s “Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.” The effect of this work was immense and enduring, and it won eulogies, even from those to whom monasticism was anathema. It does not seem unfair to say, however, that Gasquet’s reputation has recently been clouded. Many years ago now, Dr. Coulton took upon himself the task of censoring Gasquet’s work, and he has devoted himself thereto with a zeal and a persistence worthy of a better cause. As late as 1930 he re-edited some essays, extending over a number of years, mostly in criticism of Gasquet, and including a long appendix headed “A Rough List of Misstatements and Blunders in Cardinal Gasquet’s Writings.” The title of the book is “Ten Medieval Studies.”

This book of Dr. Coulton has had considerable influence. Even well-informed people have assumed too readily that the earnestness and volume of the attack can only be explained by real defects in the Cardinal's work. It is argued that he could not completely free himself from his inevitable prejudice, or that his work must have been so hasty as to have lacked thoroughness.

Nothing, therefore, could be more fitting during this year, which is the fourth centenary of the final tragedy, than to examine the grounds of Dr. Coulton's criticism and the methods by which his evidence was accumulated. In this article the essay entitled "The Monastic Legend," which attacks "Henry VIII and the English Monasteries," will be considered.

In "The Monastic Legend" Dr. Coulton finds particular fault with the use which Gasquet made of the Exeter Registers, and of the Norwich Visitations of Bishop Nicke. From both, he argues, Gasquet draws unwarranted conclusions. The Exeter Registers need not be discussed here; actually the use made of them by Dr. Coulton was criticized in *THE MONTH* a long time ago.¹ But about Bishop Nicke's visitations something really needs to be said. At the moment they are more in the limelight, for Mr. Geoffrey Baskerville recently produced a "best-seller" at the expense of the sixteenth-century monasteries, and it was partly to these visitations of Bishop Nicke that he had recourse. His careful selection of the evidence they provide has already been criticized in these pages.² Mr. Baskerville, however, was only treading in the trail blazed for him by Dr. Coulton, who in his criticisms of Gasquet used that identical source, and used it in that identical manner.

Dr. Coulton undoubtedly attaches the greatest importance to Bishop Nicke's visitations. In his eyes they provide damning evidence against the monks. He maintains that had Gasquet consulted them carefully and honestly, instead of quoting them in his own support, he would have been forced to own that they provided even more damning testimony than that of Cromwell's commissioners. "The arguments which fill nine-tenths of the Cardinal's two bulky volumes," he writes, "are meant to prove that the reports of Henry VIII's

¹ August, 1921, "Mr. G. G. Coulton and Monastic Morality," by Mr. Eger-ton Beck, pp. 128-143.

² September, 1938, "Monks and Mr. Baskerville," pp. 245-253.

commissioners are too bad to be credible. In the course of these arguments he appeals confidently to the support of certain episcopal visitations, still in manuscript, but well known to himself. When these are printed, it transpires that they yield a statistical result far less favourable than Henry VIII's."¹

Dr. Coulton could hardly have been more emphatic. We are left to conclude that Gasquet has treated unpublished material, either with complete carelessness or with complete unscrupulousness. And it seems that in the light of the printed word his misdeeds are apparent to the world. The accusation is bold and sweeping; but Dr. Coulton is more modest when he is forced to support his claim. The vitally important statistics, which show so conclusively the incompetence or dishonesty of the Cardinal, are cloaked in the comparative obscurity of a footnote.

Yet perhaps Dr. Coulton was wise. A more careful examination of these statistics would scarcely have served his cause. The figures he gives are as follows. Accepting Gasquet's own statement, made elsewhere, he says that in Cromwell's visitations the percentage of immoral Religious reported was 3.1 per cent. Now according to his own calculation, in Bishop Nicke's visitation of 1514 there were twenty cases out of 332, in other words 6.1 per cent.

In the first place it should be noticed that it is not right to compare Bishop Nicke's visitations with the *comperta* of Thomas Cromwell's agents, upon which Gasquet's figures are based, for the very reason that the latter *are comperta*. It must be remembered that there were three sets of documents connected with a monastic visitation. First there were the *detecta* which were made up of the matter laid before the bishop by the individual Religious. Secondly there were the *comperta*, that is matter which the bishop heard in his visitation, and which he thought well founded, and worthy of attention. Finally, there were the injunctions to the house, based on the *comperta*.

Now perhaps no one has outdistanced Dr. Coulton in laying stress on this distinction between *detecta* and *comperta*. He takes Gasquet to task for ignoring it. "Abbot Gasquet ["Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia," II, p. xxi] introduces a serious confusion between *detecta* and *comperta*. The subject of the verb *detegere* is not a visitor, but a witness; and

¹ "Ten Medieval Studies," pp. 4-5. 1930.

it is erroneous to gloss it 'they detected' or 'held to be proven.'"¹ Professor Hamilton Thompson also emphasizes the distinction in his "Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln"² to which Dr. Coulton has several times made confident appeal. Yet in this case, for his own purposes, Dr. Coulton chooses to ignore the distinction, which elsewhere he stresses as so important. Indeed it suits his argument to do so. The reports of Cromwell's visitors were *comperta*; that is, the commissioners professed to have made an examination of the monasteries, and to have found 250 persons guilty of incontinence. Bishop Nicke's visitation made no such claim. The reports which have come down to us—with the exception of that of Norwich priory—are merely the *detecta*, i.e., information laid before the bishop in the early stage of the visitation. We have next to nothing, as far as documentary evidence goes, to show how much of this the bishop included in his considered report, that is, in his *comperta*.

However, this adroit confusion of *detecta* and *comperta* gives Dr. Coulton a far stronger case than he would otherwise have. Clearly all the persons against whom suspicions were brought would not be found guilty; just as all people brought to trial are not necessarily condemned. Dr. Coulton admits as much in the article in the *English Historical Review* mentioned above. "The *detecta* were formal and serious accusations . . . which might or might not be proven." Yet by treating Bishop Nicke's *detecta* as *comperta*, he gives the impression that everyone, against whom there was a breath of suspicion, was condemned by the bishop as guilty; condemned as uncompromisingly as they and their successors were to be condemned by Cromwell twenty years later. In this way Dr. Coulton builds up his 6.1 per cent.

As has been said, except in one case, we have none of Bishop Nicke's *comperta*; nevertheless, by a careful examination of the admissions of the Religious, we can perhaps form an estimate of those cases which he would have taken seriously, in other words, of those whom he would have accused in the sense in which Cromwell's commissioners were afterwards to do. Hence such an examination puts us in a position to make a rough comparison of the evidence of the two visitations.

¹ *English Historical Review*, January, 1914, "The Interpretation of Visitation Documents," pp. 20—21.

² Vol. I, p. xi; Vol. II, pp. xlvii—xlviii.

However, before passing to a detailed examination of the visitation of 1514, it is well to point out that anyone familiar with Nicke's visitations as a whole must be struck with surprise by Dr. Coulton's claim that they damn the monks even more completely than Cromwell's reports. For, while the accounts sent to Cromwell give a clear impression that immorality was prevalent in the monasteries, Nicke's visitations lead us to think that with a few very obvious and very disgraceful exceptions, most religious houses were suffering from little more than the fairly trifling shortcomings inevitable in an imperfect world. Such, at any rate, was the impression of the scholar who edited these visitations. If, he says, future investigation shall discover no more than the volume which he presents "it may happen that we shall be forced to confess that in the sixteenth century there were creatures in common form, who exhibited as shocking examples of truculent slander, of gratuitous obscenity, of hateful malignity, as can be found among the worst men of any previous or succeeding age; but we shall have to look for them, not within the cloisters, but outside them, among the robbers, not among the robbed."¹

Yet this is the evidence which appears to Dr. Coulton more damning than that of Henry VIII's commissioners. Before seeing by what methods he reaches so extraordinary a conclusion, it should be remembered that we have reports of four visitations of Bishop Nicke. Of these, that of 1514, on which Dr. Coulton bases his conclusions, is, on his own admission, the least favourable. He is, therefore, accepting a description of the monks in the Norwich diocese, not as they were on the eve of the suppression, but admittedly as they were when Nicke found them at their worst. However, this may be put aside and Dr. Coulton met on his own chosen ground.

Turning then to a more detailed examination of the visitation of 1514, it will be discovered that the bishop found, not twenty clear cases of immorality, but two. These were Robert Worstad at Norwich Priory, and Agnes Smyth at Crabhouse Nunnery. In each of these cases there is a clear and precise accusation, by at least two persons, which the bishop believed.

However, to find the remaining eighteen cases cited by Dr. Coulton is not so easy. Actually there are only three cases in which a clear and definite accusation is made, namely,

¹ "Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, 1492—1532." Edited by A. Jessopp. Camden Society. Preface, p. l. 1888.

against Thomas Whitehed of Stoke, against the Prior of Beeston and against the Prior of Walsingham. In none of these cases is the accusation supported by more than one witness, neither do the visitations afford proof that the bishop took these particular accusations seriously. Whitehed is accused by one, William Wiott, who is thoroughly disgruntled, though the house as a whole seems content. In the words of the report "*conqueritur de multis ut patet in scedula quam exhibuit.*" It is on his unsupported evidence that Dr. Coulton condemns the unfortunate Whitehed. Again, in the case of the Prior of Beeston, only one man makes the charge, and his fellow-Religious provide no evidence in its support. Finally, Prior Lowthe of Walsingham was clearly much disliked by the canons who were his subjects; their complaints against him take up whole pages. One of their chief grievances was the influence over him of the monastic servant, John Smith, and his wife. Had his relations with Mrs. Smith, therefore, given cause for immoral accusations, the bishop would have heard those accusations time and time again. But they are made only once.

In other cases found during the visitation there is no direct accusation of immorality, but it is only said that there are suspicions. We are, therefore, concerned merely with rumours, with hearsay, with *on dits*. Clearly in these cases there is a double doubt. First there may be no real suspicion, and secondly, even if suspicion exists, it may be groundless. For this reason men are chary of condemning on mere hearsay. Dr. Coulton, however, acts otherwise.

On three occasions in which there was only suspicion, evidence was given by three persons. As to the existence of the suspicion, therefore, there can be no doubt. However, whether or not the suspicion was justified, or whether the bishop thought it was justified, we have no certain proof. Thus, though three persons¹ agree that Thomas Vicar, Prior of Thetford, "*est suspectus cum uxore Stephani Horham,*" one adds "*tamen dicit quod credit priorem esse bonae vitae.*" Again, though three others assert that the friendship of Thomas Martyn, the Prior of Bromehill, with a couple of women has given the house a bad name, one adds that there is no question of sin.

In five cases the evidence of suspicion is confirmed by two

¹ Or possibly four. It depends on how much is read into the words "*Quoad Le Dayre, concordat cum primo depositore.*"

persons, and therefore, once more, it cannot be ignored. Again, however, there is no evidence that the suspicions were justified. At Westacre the situation was similar to that at Walsingham. The prior was unpopular and allowed too much influence to his servant, John Smith, and his wife. The canons said that he was too intimate with Mrs. Smith. Accordingly, the bishop ordered both Smith and his wife to be dismissed. This, however, means little, for it is clear that they were nuisances from every point of view.

The other suspicions attested by two witnesses are equally vague. The bishop takes no notice at all of those against John Tacolston, the Prior of Hulme Abbey. He orders that John Wells, whom the nuns at Flixton say is too intimate with their prioress—his relative—shall keep away from the monastery. In the words of Dr. Jessopp: "The prioress has been seen talking to a man, and more than once!" cried the nuns, and they shook their chaste heads and looked shocked. . . 'Let the lord bishop decide between us!' The lord bishop did consider the case; the nuns were clearly not living happily together; Margaret clearly did not seem to be the right person to keep things straight. It would be better if she retired; and as for John Wells, these talks and conversations and private interviews could not be allowed, he must be got rid of at any rate."¹ Yet for Dr. Coulton this prioress, Margaret Punder, is no better than the unfortunate Agnes Smyth of Crabhouse.

In neither of the two remaining cases in which suspicion depends upon the word of two persons, namely, in those of the Prior of Eye and of John Hengham of Wymondham, have we any certain evidence that the suspicion was confirmed.

The further cases, making up the eighteen, are those of Bedingham, Syblys, and the sub-Prior at Norwich, John Wiott at Thompson College, Richard Cambridge at Wymondham, Thomas Ringsted at Walsingham and Andrew Walsham at Hume. In all of these one man testifies—not to the guilt—but to the mere existence of suspicion against the person in question. Such suspicions may or may not have been wild fancies, but clearly, as far as we are concerned, they are not proved fact, and so it is not necessary to say any more about them.

We can now sum up these eighteen cases, on which so much of Dr. Coulton's case depends. On no single occasion do as many as two witnesses testify to actual immorality. Accusa-

¹ "Norwich Visitations," pp. xliii—xliv.

tions are made only three times, and rest on the unsupported word of one witness. In every other case Dr. Coulton condemns on mere suspicion, and in nearly half of them even the existence of the suspicion is doubtful.

Thus the number of proved cases of immorality found by Bishop Nicke would appear to be, not twenty, but two, and the percentage not 6.1, but .61. With this Dr. Coulton's whole case against Gasquet's use of the visitations falls to the ground, relying as it does on the claim that Nicke's visitation of 1514, from a statistical point of view, shows the monks in a worse light than that of Thomas Cromwell himself. Dr. Coulton was indeed bold when he claimed that Nicke's visitations were more damning evidence than those of Cromwell; but his boldness was decidedly unwarranted.

However, there is something further to be noted. Had Dr. Coulton merely published "The Monastic Legend" once and for all, and never re-edited it, we might conclude that he had been guilty of considerable negligence; and charity would forbid us to say more. But Dr. Coulton has re-edited "The Monastic Legend," and has done so, as has been said, as recently as 1930.

Now in the interval a comparison has been made by a thoroughly competent scholar of the relations between Bishop Nicke's visitations and the later reports of Cromwell's visitors. The comparison has been printed in a famous work for all to see, and it is hard to understand how it can have been overlooked by so learned a man as Dr. Coulton. The work to which I refer is Gairdner's "Lollardy and the Reformation," and he makes his comparison in his second volume, in his appendix to Book III, chapter ii. Gairdner's conclusions in no way differ from those of Cardinal Gasquet, as can be seen from a couple of quotations. "That vice should be so prevalent in the world, and not find its way into the monasteries—harbours of refuge though these might be considered—was hardly to be expected; and we know that it was by no means completely excluded. But a more sober estimate of the degree to which it actually prevailed there may be found by comparing, where it is possible to do so, the *comperta* of the Royal Visitors of 1536 with the results of episcopal visitations, not many years before" (*i.e.*, Bishop Nicke's visitations). And again: "It is impossible to rise from the perusal [of Nicke's visitations] without a feeling that vice did make its way at times into these retreats of piety; but that many of them were deeply tainted or were allowed long to continue

so, does not seem to me a justifiable inference from these very frank revelations."

Dr. Coulton is, therefore, in a difficult position. If he continues to say that Cardinal Gasquet unblushingly distorted his evidence, he must admit that the guilt was shared by a scholar as eminent as Gairdner. If, on the other hand, it be granted that Gasquet has not misrepresented Nicke's visitation, then Dr. Coulton's "slings and arrows" would seem to be little better than the proverbial boomerang.

W. F. REA.

A Pre-Raphaelite Picture

JUNE mists lie faint in a garden, where,
While many a musical fountain flows,
And the lily's shade on the trim parterre
The lapse of the languid noon-tide shows,
The Maiden rests by a bower of rose,
With wide eyes full of a cloudy light.
And lips dis-parted in rapt repose—
Sweet the Madonna pre-Raphaelite!

A silk-shot robe doth the damsel wear,
Whose soft-toned glimmering comes and goes,
And wan, 'neath a wealth of raven hair,
Is her brow, as the moon-lit mountain snows;
At throat is a bloom from the orchard-close,
On a blazoned page her hands lie white,
And ruddy the gold of her cincture glows—
Sweet the Madonna pre-Raphaelite!

A dove from the lap of the sun-steeped air
The sweeter rest of her shoulder knows,
And the glancing tints that his neck-plumes bear
Vie with the fountains' iris-bows;
And down float blossoms that zephyr strows,
On the poised wing of an angel-sprite,
Who kneels on the smooth lawn, light as those—
Sweet the Madonna pre-Raphaelite!

ENVOY

Sire, shrewd the strife in this world of woes,
Brief the pause in the life-long fight,
With her there is rest from fears and foes—
Sweet the Madonna pre-Raphaelite!

J.K.

CATHOLIC LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION

PÈRE CONGAR'S "DIVIDED CHRISTENDOM"

ONE can resign oneself to plain fare; one can steel oneself to the occasions when, in addition, it is badly cooked; but there is something uniquely distressing when some rare and expensive dish is ruined in the cooking. So goes the tale of the three exiled students in a college abroad who were sent a plum-pudding from home for Christmas. They had carefully explained to the cook that it was to be boiled for so long in boiling water, and he had as carefully carried out their instructions, but what can compare with their feeling of agonized exasperation when a sort of thick black soup was served up to them? The cook had "followed his instructions" and emptied the bowl into the boiling water.

A similar feeling is produced when one finds that a book of outstanding merit has been translated into English in such a way that, while its principal ingredients are still recognizable, they are made very unpalatable to the connoisseur by the omission or substitution of elements which, if not essential, profoundly modify the savour of the whole. One can put up with (yet why should one have to?) the inaccurate translation of a work of no particular consequence, but there is nothing for it but exasperation when the process is applied to a masterpiece of carefully balanced thinking and research. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. Yet this is what has happened to Père M-J. Congar's "Chrétiens Désunis" now presented to us in English dress as "Divided Christendom."¹ Its main lines, of course, remain; it should be read, and will be read with profit by Catholics and non-Catholics alike; but the critical reader will be glad of the warning to shut his eyes to the many blunders which will arrest his attention and might otherwise put him off: they are no part of the author's thought. A few of them are pilloried in these pages, but at the same time the opportunity has been taken to raise the whole question of the translation of important foreign Catholic works into English,

¹ The Centenary Press. Price, 12s. 6d. 1939. "Chrétiens Désunis." By M-J. Congar, O.P. Editions du Cerf, Boulevard de la Tour Marbourg, Paris. Price, 40.00 fr. 1937.

and to ask whether, in all frankness, sufficient care and thought is always given to all that it involves. Only Catholic books need be considered because their publication in this country meets with difficulties which secular works are spared.

The first and obvious thing to settle is whether the work in question is in itself worth all the labour that its translation will demand. It does not follow that, because a book is important, or has met with the highest praise and success abroad, it therefore calls for an English translation. Many do, and our Catholic literature has been notably enriched by those works which have been judiciously chosen and carefully translated. Without prejudice to other examples which might be mentioned, one may single out, as representatives of widely different types, Pastor's "History of the Popes," Père Charles's "Prayer for all Times" and Karl Adam's "Spirit of Catholicism." But one must bear one's readers in mind. There is not in England, as there is in France, a *large* educated Catholic reading public, and by "educated" in this context is meant a public with considerably more than a public school grounding, one which, without necessarily specialist knowledge in the subjects, can appreciate works of serious historical, philosophical and theological thought, and can, by the effort involved, deepen and broaden its own thinking. The situation is indeed rapidly improving thanks to the increasing number of first-class authors amongst us to-day, but it would be foolish not to admit that, as a whole, we are far behind our brethren across the Channel. It is no blame to us: the causes of it are written across the pages of our history; but it is a fact to be considered when a translation is in question. For it means that its success, even financially (for the "sordid" side of the question is inescapable), will depend in large part on the non-Catholic readers whom it will attract. Generally, if they read it at all, it will be for its own intrinsic merit; but in any case, we should remember that, at the same time, they are looking over our shoulder at "the sort of things we read," and appraising us accordingly—and not so much *us* as the Church herself.

These two facts must be borne in mind—our comparatively restricted Catholic public, and the non-Catholic reading public interested in our books—if we are to estimate the problems which a translation has to solve. In many cases one may well ask: "Why translate at all? Those likely to read and appreciate a book of this nature, will certainly be able to

read French—the same cannot perhaps be said of German—and they will generally prefer to acquire the original, which in its unbound form they can procure more cheaply than its English counterpart. And if they must have bound books, is there not here an argument for our publishers to *bind* the foreign books for them—at a price, lower even so, than what the production of a translation would necessarily demand?"

Supposing, however, that a work really does call for an English translation, there are two main possibilities: (1) the book is translated in its entirety, its atmosphere preserved and the thought of the author reproduced as accurately as possible; or (2) account being taken of the different mental outlook of English readers, coloured as it is by a different literature, a different political and social and religious history, the translation is adapted accordingly: cuts are made, notes are often replaced by references to analogous English works, and arguments perhaps recast so that the author's meaning is more effectively conveyed. Each method has its own advantages: the first as correctly reproducing the author's message to his original readers, the second as presenting that same message as he would wish it presented to his new audience. Whichever method be adopted (and it is particularly true of the second), the primary requisite in the translator is to be able to enter into the author's mind and therefore—alas that it should need saying!—to understand both *the language* and *the subject dealt with*, sufficiently to be sure that he does not misrepresent the author's thought. Surely this is only justice to the author himself, to say nothing of his future readers. Obviously no translation of a modern work is undertaken without the author's consent, but even though he may have a good working knowledge of English, it does not follow that he will be able to check the precise meaning which the translation will convey. He will naturally "read into" it the meaning which he himself intended, and, unless he is very much alive to this danger, he will be at the mercy of his translator. It is the latter who must ultimately bear the responsibility.

In the case of the work here under consideration, the delicacy of its subject-matter called for particular care. For the first time, perhaps, at least in this country, was appearing a Catholic study, not out to prove *ex professo* that the Catholic Church alone was true, but displaying on a very large canvas the state of Christianity, in all its shapes and forms, as it

exists in the world to-day—every section of it perpetuating in some way the developments of its past—and frankly facing the question, which confronts Catholics no less than others: "Have we not some duty to take the situation in hand, and not be content with making sure that the walls of the fortress we have built about us, remain impregnable to 'the enemy'? Have we not, even, a duty towards that 'enemy,' whom Christ came to save quite as much as ourselves? Do we even 'understand' him? And if we don't, how can we hope to help him and turn him into a friend?" Not that the question had never been put before, and that nothing was being done about it, but never before had it been envisaged in its totality, with that wider psychological sympathy which is the accompaniment of the best modern thought, nor with such a courageous effort to lay bare our own deficiencies, real and imaginary—"to see ourselves as others see us." It was a book that attempted to jolt us out of our self-complacency, and was, therefore, likely to be subjected to attack, even at home, as a betrayal of the cause of the Church. It was a book, furthermore, which was bound to attract non-Catholic interest; which might be welcomed as a tardy offer of an olive-branch; which might be mistaken as a weakening in the claims of Rome; which might be quarried from for material to hurl at her. For all these reasons, it was sound policy to choose the second of the methods indicated above, viz., that the translation should be at the same time an adaptation, with abbreviations and a certain freedom of presentation better adapted to an English public. This was also indicated by the fact that, in such a pioneer work, Père Congar had, here and there, allowed his enthusiasm to get the better of him, and cooler reflection will have suggested some modifications.

But such adaptation requires both an accurate appreciation of the author's thought, and a sureness of touch in presenting it in English dress. The original, as was inevitable owing to the complexity of the subject-matter, was not always easy reading, for it did not indulge in easy generalizations, but presented each historical or theological judgment with those qualifications which its various aspects demanded. Yet, thanks to the careful way the progress of its thought was indicated by those little connectives which abound in French, that thought remained steady and clear throughout. The whole exposition was *très nuancé*, but the meaning unmistakable. On the other hand, the translation that is before us

to-day, suggests that the thought of the original was not always grasped, that quite common French expressions have been misunderstood, that not only very pertinent qualifications have been cut out but also many of those connectives which steer the thought in the text, so that the book is, in places, obscure, sometimes makes nonsense, and not infrequently gives a sense widely different from the original.¹ What share translator, printer and publisher have respectively in the responsibility for all this, it would be impertinent to try to decide here: it is only the finished product that is being criticized, and a few extracts, compared with their original, will show that these strictures are only too well justified.

Let us first take some instances which show a lack of understanding of the French and a carelessness about what the English will mean. "*Des questions de personnes*" (p. 8) does not mean "personal matters" (p. 7), and one wonders what meaning "an exceptionally violent and RESOUNDING conscience" (p. 19) is expected to convey, till one reads the original: "*une conscience exceptionnellement violente et sonore*" (p. 23), where, from the context, the reference to Luther is obvious. Very often the connexion between sentences is ruined—this and other faults are obvious in the following:

Les croisades sont, par réaction, un autre effet de l'Islam. Or dans l'ensemble des événements . . . les croisades . . . apportèrent le plus de motifs de se détester . . . On connaît l'histoire de la quatrième croisade, dirigée contre Constantinople! On sait aussi la protestation et le désaveu du Pape Innocent III (pp. 10-11).

The Crusades may be regarded, THROUGH THEIR REACTIONS, as an indirect effect of Islam, FOR in the general course of events . . . the Crusades did much to stir up hatred. . . We need only remember the sack of Constantinople in 1204, OR the protestation and disavowal of Innocent III (p. 9).

Never in any context can "*or*" in French mean "for"; it is an adversative introducing some fresh consideration, and does not introduce an explanation of what has preceded.² But, of course, "*par réaction*" had been misunderstood, and the nonsense which is made of this sentence is only equalled by the

¹ These strictures are not applicable throughout. At least the long chapters ii and iii (pp. 48-114) are clear of them (save for the strange bungling at the top of p. 69—and a minor detail or two). It is obvious that more than one hand shared in the work of translation—and that the right hand did not know what the left was doing.

² It is exactly the *Atqui* of the minor premise in a syllogism.

absurdity of the last one where the Pope's disavowal of the sack of Constantinople is put down as a cause of hatred along with the sack itself!

This may serve as an introduction to the numerous historical errors which are guilelessly committed. One can only give a selection here. In reference to the Schism of the West as helping to pave the way for the Reformation, we have this: "Moreover, a long series of events . . . had progressively undermined the authority of the Church and the Papacy, which in the Middle Ages frequently had to be so bolstered up that doubts arose, and theories, mostly animated by a desire for reform *in capite et in membris*, were put forward on all sides" (p. 17). Is this really Père Congar's estimate of the Papacy in the Middle Ages? One can judge from the French: "*D'autant qu'une longue série de faits . . . ont ruiné l'autorité de l'Eglise et de la Papauté telle que le moyen âge l'avait formulée et portée au sommet. Le doute est venu sur tout cela, et les théories CONCILIAIRES, généralement animées par un désir de réforme 'in capite et in membris,' se produisent de tous côtés*" (pp. 19—20). There is no question here of "bolstering up," nor was it *that* which caused the new theories (why not call them the Conciliar Theories?), but precisely the "long series of events," the chief of which was the Great Schism.

Here is an instance of a statement which is the very opposite of the original. Speaking of East and West and their ignorance of each other's theology, the translation asserts: "True, this ignorance is later than the schism: it might, in great measure, survive reunion" (p. 30). The French, on the contrary, reads: "*A vrai dire, cette ignorance est ANTÉRIEURE au schisme . . .*" (p. 36). Incidentally, "survive" says more than "*survivrait*"; the true meaning is that such ignorance "might persist even after reunion."

What false implications are contained in the next passage! "Over against Catholicism Luther and Calvin set up a complete conception of the Christian life and of the Church" (p. 145). Did they really? and had not the Church already such a "complete conception"? Actually the original is very simple: "*Ce que Luther et Calvin opposent au catholicisme, c'est TOUTE UNE CONCEPTION de la vie chrétienne et de l'Eglise, organiquement liée*" (p. 183).

No doubt a number of these points will be acknowledged to be regrettable in themselves, but the plea may be made that they do not seriously affect the author's main argument.

We shall say a word about such an attitude presently, but there are also a number of clear cases where the argument itself is falsified. The extracts will have to be fairly long in order to make this clear.

In dealing with the causes of the schism between East and West, the author had omitted to speak of doctrinal differences. Dealing now with the historical effects of protracted separation, he writes: "*Aussi bien, si nous n'avons pas fait état des différences théologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident dans les 'causes premières' de la séparation, devons-nous les mentionner en parlant de ce que la durée de celle-ci a fait ou permis de faire pour propre aggravation*" (p. 30). The corresponding English text exemplifies not only incomprehension of the French, but that process of telescoping the sentences which destroys the often necessary *nuances* of thought of the original: "If theological reasons did not enter into the original separation between East and West, WHAT RIGHT HAVE WE to introduce them in dealing with what the duration of the schism has done or permitted in aggravation of them?" (pp. 25—26). The important reference to the author's earlier pages on the Schism has disappeared, the perfectly normal inversion in "*devons-nous*" has been mistaken for a question, and so we end up with an indignant repudiation of what the author is just about to do himself!

Most important in the treatment of Anglicanism is the author's confessed intention to concentrate on one section only of the Church of England, and on the particular outlook which prevails there. He has just admitted the peculiar difficulty presented by the non-homogeneous character of the Church of England, and continues: "*Nous envisageons ici l'anglicanisme sous son aspect, en somme, le plus favorable*" (p. 187). The sequence of thought is not indicated in the English: "We here envisage Anglicanism, IN THE MAIN, under its most favourable aspect" (p. 148). A woolly sentence, devoid of purpose.

One last passage will illustrate a number of deficiencies together, but especially the failure to recognize one of the author's main contentions: that it is a mistake to try to envisage by what process the Holy Spirit will eventually bring all Christians to unity, and that we must rather study the actual situation as it is in the concrete, and ask ourselves what that situation calls on us to do here and now.¹ He has

¹ This contention is, however, clearly expressed on p. 249 of the translation.

been discussing the idea that the Church of England may be considered a "Bridge Church,"¹ and ends the paragraph with de Maistre's "prophetic" words: "If ever Christians come together, as all things call them to do, it seems that the impetus must come from the Church of England." What follows must be compared in the two texts: no comment need be added:

Nous n'avons, évidemment, rien à dire à ce sujet,² n'ayant pour cela aucune lumière. Nous craignons bien un peu qu'il y ait en tout cela une certaine dose de fantaisie, et . . . nous désirons offrir à toute tentative d'"imaginer" la réunion, une résistance décidée. Ce qui effectivement existe, offre du moins une base ferme d'appréciation. On ne peut nier que l'Eglise anglicane montre beaucoup de zèle et déploie une grande activité pour l'œuvre de l'unité chrétienne. Plusieurs barrières sont tombées ou tomberont sans doute grâce à elle. Dieu se sert de qui il veut. Ipsi gloria. (p. 206).

We cannot, obviously, discuss the "BRIDGE CHURCH" QUESTION, since for us it HAS NO RELEVANCE. We cannot but fear, however, that there may be in all this an element of fantasy, and . . . we are obliged to offer a definite resistance to all attempts to invent reunion. What actually exists at least offers a basis for DEVELOPMENT. It is undeniable that the Church of England displays considerable zeal and activity on behalf of Christian unity. Thanks to these activities barriers may be destroyed: God will make use of WHAT IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH His will. *Ipsi gloria* (pp. 163-4).

It may be trite, perhaps even suspicious, to add that such instances could be multiplied. In this case there is no exaggeration. Maybe they are confined to chapters i and v, from the opening pages of which the above examples have been taken. The present writer will be forgiven for not having gone through the whole book. He had already read the French original, and the comparison of the two texts soon deterred him from wishing to read the translation in its entirety. Had he not instituted the comparison, the impression produced on him might have been different, and he feels in duty bound to add that others have found the translation "eminently readable."³ Further, the interest and importance of the main thesis of the work—which, if obscured, still re-

¹ And why was the reference to Dr. Adolf Keller left out?

² Obviously the "prophesy" just quoted.

³ This he can corroborate from certain parts which he has read himself without consulting the French text.

mains intact in substance—will justify a good circulation. Indeed, nothing would be more satisfactory than that the present edition be exhausted as soon as possible, and the way left open for a new and thoroughly revised edition. The need for such a revision is, however, inescapable. It is due to the author whose thought is so often misrepresented; it is due to the reader who is often misinformed about the author's mind, about the history of the Church, about the history of Orthodoxy and of Anglicanism; it is due to Anglicans, whose views are once or twice distorted in the translation (*e.g.*, p. 175 top), and references to whose works are at times unaccountably omitted. It is due to all those interested in the question, because of the suppression of pertinent historical allusions and of those many qualifications of statement, which the complex nature of the subject imperatively demands and the suppression of which leaves an impression of superficiality, very open to criticism. It is due, in fine, to the Church herself, for those who have a natural antipathy to all things "Roman" will pounce on the blunders made—be they important or not for the argument—and make capital out of them against the work as a whole and against the Church, of which Père Congar is such a loyal and ardent champion. But even those whose learning and scholarship would otherwise have best appreciated a study of this kind, will inevitably be tempted to refuse serious attention to a book which contains such historical absurdities and such looseness and obscurity of thought.

It was with reluctance that the present writer brought himself to write against a translation to which he had been looking forward with such hopes. If in England the few Catholic notices of "*Chrétiens Désunis*," when it first appeared, were some enthusiastic, others rather cool in their welcome, the book undoubtedly made a deep impression in certain Anglican and other circles, and obviously presented to them a view of the Church which they had never before realized. But this translation, as it stands, is a disappointment. One can only hope that, when the time comes, the revised edition will appear in a form that is worthy of the subject-matter and of its author, and of which we shall not need to feel ashamed.

MAURICE BÉVENOT.

OUR PRESENT DISCONTENTS¹

NEVER, surely, have the words of the Prophet rung truer than to-day : *Dixerunt : Pax, pax; et non erat pax*. "They said : Peace, peace; and it was not peace." The cynically inclined could make great play with the utterances of European statesmen during the past year, and in particular since the Munich Agreement ushered in a period of threat and counter-threat, of propaganda so unscrupulous that it must defeat its own aim, of diplomacy in which it has become tacitly accepted that promises mean no more than a confession of present inability to seize what you pledge yourself not to annex. The nations stand with loaded pistols in hand, and in the nervous tension that prevails, it seems at times scarcely possible that the trigger-finger of one of them will not flex, finally and fatally.

But the prospect of war, horrible as it is, is not the ultimate horror of this nightmare. That is provided by the melancholy realization that, after all, mankind believes in the inevitability of war, at least in this sense, that it is the final arbitrament. If I can get what I want by other means, by arbitration, by bluff, by hypocrisy, by threat, of course, I shall not resort to that final arbitrament. But, if I cannot get my way save by force of arms, then war it shall be. For "my way" is the ultimate issue.

The appearance of Miss Murray's analysis of the inherent defectibility of our latter-day civilization is truly providential in its timeliness. For it is only by change of heart, through a profound self-knowledge, that mankind can be saved from itself. And unerringly does Miss Murray hold up the mirror in which we can, if we care to look, see ourselves for what we are. "If we care to look"; for however excellent the mirror, it is worthless to the blind man, or to the man who shuts his eyes, or even to the man who is so intent on the frame that he does not so much as look into the reflecting surface. Such is the reviewer who, in a long notice of "The Good Pagan's Failure," was content to presume that because "Miss

¹ (1) "The Good Pagan's Failure." By Rosalind Murray. London: Longmans. Pp. 177. Price, 7s. 6d. (2) "Beyond Politics." By Christopher Dawson. London: Sheed & Ward. Pp. 136. Price, 3s. 6d. (3) "Questions de Conscience." By Jacques Maritain. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. Pp. 284. Price, 20.00 fr.

Murray lately became a convert to Roman Catholicism," therefore the book must be regarded as a sort of apologia for a "mediating and authoritative Church," and to launch forth-with into a defence of what he is pleased to call "the religious genius of the English people." And, of course, "our fundamental instinct surely has been that in religion . . . the first principle to be acknowledged is that no man can be another's master." There is a sense in which that statement could be defended. But, ever since God became Man, it is as it stands, patently indefensible.

In any case, Miss Murray is concerned with deeper issues than the merely "apologetic." Her book is a devastating indictment of the attempt to achieve a civilization without God, an indictment not less but more telling because of the moderation of its language and the mildness of its temper. It does not make any fuss; it does not seek to impress by rhetorical devices or by any of the recognized (or unrecognized) tricks of style; it does not "scintillate"; but the effect of its quiet sincerity is profound.

The central theme of the work is sufficiently indicated by the title—"The Good Pagan's Failure." Brought up in the atmosphere engendered by "paganism" at its best, Miss Murray believes, justifiably, that she, if anyone, is in a position to act as interpreter to the pagan who finds Christianity "foolishness" and the Christian who is tempted to despise the true merits of the pagan. For she will not have it that the pagan is a worthless creature. In many respects he is eminently worthy, and his achievement, if superficial, is real. He has done much that ought to have been done, that might not have been done but for him; if she exaggerates, it is in her tribute to the excellence of the Good Pagan. And whilst there is never a trace of nostalgia for the world she has known, her sympathy with the bewildered pagan who sees all about him the ruin or the threatened ruin of his world is sincere and convincing. Yet it is a cardinal point of her thesis that that ruin was inherent in the very principles on which the pagan sought to build his scheme of things. For paganism, however attractive it may seem in the "perfect gentleman," however assiduously it may cultivate the natural virtues and graces, is doomed to failure because it has no faith in a reality beyond this world, no hope of a higher good than any this life can offer, and therefore no true charity. If your *summum bonum* is the sort of natural happiness achieved, in theory,

by the "right people" doing the "right" sort of thing in a society composed, ideally, of Old Etonians, then clearly, as Miss Murray points out, such a philosophy breaks down in presence of the outcast and the sinner. You may feel it incumbent on you to do something—and no one will wish to dispute the obvious fact that the religion of Humanitarianism has done much to relieve distress, to develop the "social services," to exercise "charity"—but if all such well-doing is to be more than a sentimental urge, it will need a deeper and more substantial motive to inspire it. It is a simple fact of experience that, on a purely materialistic, "this-world" view, the rights of man, merely as man, are set aside. It is only when we begin to glimpse the truth that this world is not everything, that man's happiness transcends the purely material needs of his body or the limited demands of a spirit that is thought of as perishing with the body, it is only then that we begin also to see the value and importance of the service of our fellow-man, and this in every department. "It is our contention," as Miss Murray puts it, "that there is no true value which cannot be included in the Christian value, nothing of ultimate use to human beings which has no part in the Divine Order, but it must take its place in its right order; the lower cannot function for the higher, Man cannot govern God for his own purpose."

At the same time, it would be unjust to the pagan not to admit that the Christian himself has his own corresponding failure, the failure which comes when, owing to the pressure of attack from the pagan materialism, the Christian is driven into an exaggerated withdrawal, a flight from the world, which is left too much to its own devices. There may be times when such a flight from the world is the only resource left, when, for this or that individual or group of individuals, the pure light of truth may be safeguarded only in seclusion and separation from surrounding enemies. The Christian is not "of the world." But, as our Lord Himself besought His Father: "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from evil," so must the Christian realize that his vocation is, essentially, to co-operate with his Master in the redemption of that world.

And here, perhaps, one might be tempted to join issue with Miss Murray, to suggest that she has not sufficiently insisted on this corresponding failure of the Christian, who, because of the fullness and completeness of his philosophy, has less

excuse than the pagan for that failure. But she would retort to this that, in so far as the Christian does fail, it is because of the incompleteness of his Christianization, it is because he still remains, to a greater or less degree, pagan. The complete Christian, the "totalitarian Christian" who sees that God is everything and therefore surrenders to Him utterly, does not fail. But there are few such. "The Christian is far more pagan than he knows; the pagan is more Christian than he admits."

Hence, the book is not merely an indictment of this or that individual pagan, or even of this or that pagan society or civilization. It is an analysis of the two forces ever contending for mastery in the soul of every man. And no Christian can be in any way complacent at reading it. If the "Good Pagan" has failed to build "Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land," it may be because the half-pagan Christian has failed to co-operate as he should. After her effort to mediate between Christian and pagan, to attempt to find some common basis on which they may agree, or at least understand each other a little, Miss Murray concludes that such an understanding is, in the nature of things, hardly to be achieved. An interpreter's success depends on the fact that although two people may speak different languages, they do share similar ideas. But Christian notions are entirely outside the scope of pagan comprehension. Nevertheless, she tries to find a way out by a "pragmatic" presentation of the case for Christianity, showing that Christianity at its truest does get done the very things which paganism aims at, even though the doing of them is incidental to, and not of the essence of, Christianity.

But not even so is the thoroughgoing pagan likely to come any nearer to an understanding, simply because, by coming down to the pagan's level, Christianity must lose all that is specifically characteristic of it. But, fortunately, the thoroughgoing pagan is even rarer than the "totalitarian" Christian. For in Tertullian's profound phrase, *anima naturaliter Christiana*—"the human soul, of its very nature, is made for Christ." There is hope, therefore, that some, at least, of those who sit in darkness may be brought to the "true Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world."

Whether this be true or not, it is certain that no one who seeks to be a sincere Christian can read the book without a

strong desire that the Christian within him may grow at the expense of the pagan. For if the Good Pagan has failed, so has the bad Christian—the half-hearted Christian, the Christian who is “neither hot nor cold.” They have both failed for the same reason, because their outlook is too narrow, too limited. The pagan cannot believe that there is anything beyond this world; the bad Christian, for all his belief in a spiritual reality, acts as though the final values were the purely temporal and human. They both ignore, or forget, God. And the result? “Dans la mesure ou elle s’est décentrée de Dieu, la culture européenne s’est déshumanisée; voilà ce qui fait la tragédie de notre temps. Il arrive alors que pour régner en demiurge sur la nature, l’homme dans son intelligence et dans sa vie, doit en réalité se subordonner de plus en plus à des nécessités non pas humaines mais techniques, et aux énergies d’ordre matériel qu’il met en œuvre et qui envahissent le monde humain lui-même. Quels que soient les gains acquis à d’autres points de vue, les conditions de vie de l’être humain deviennent ainsi de plus en plus inhumaines.”

These words from M. Maritain’s collection of essays and addresses which he has published under the title “Questions de Conscience,” aptly summarize and reinforce the conclusion of Miss Murray’s book. Not all M. Maritain’s friends and admirers have been able to follow him in all his recent pronouncements, but it is good to be able to recommend wholeheartedly this volume which is marked with all the insight and the Christian outlook of M. Maritain at his best.

It is natural to consider Mr. Christopher Dawson’s latest book by the side of Miss Murray’s. “Beyond Politics” is also a study of our modern problems, though from a different and rather narrower angle than hers. He is chiefly interested in the emergence of a new phenomenon in our social life, a new notion of “community,” aspiring to be something more than the old State. Modern civilization, being the soulless and inhuman thing that it is, has thwarted and repressed a fundamental need in man’s nature. His normal instinct for the formation of social relationships could find no satisfaction in the circumstances of nineteenth-century economic organization, and the sects and chapels of the time supplied no adequate remedy. To-day, by an inevitable law, Nature is having her revenge, and the excesses of twentieth-century “totalitarianism” are the result. What is to come of it, Mr.

Dawson is unwilling to predict, but since mankind is thus striving to fashion for itself something which Christianity has failed to produce, Christians themselves must be careful not to attack and repudiate the new movement blindly, lest they find that "they are fighting against God and standing in the path of the march of God through history."

At the same time, this great modern tendency creates special problems for countries like our own in which, on the one hand, Fascism and Communism are alike unwelcome, and on the other, the whole process of mass production and organization is so opposed to the principles of individual liberty and personal responsibility which we prize so much. Fortunately for the Christian, he is able to see beyond present fashions and ephemeral movements, though there is always the temptation to take the line of least resistance and acquiesce in some facile synthesis of his religion with this or that ideology. The Church must always stand aloof, and whilst content to believe that the work of God is being carried on in these different movements of the human spirit, must be ever ready to find that she is the object of misunderstanding and attack. For her, always, it is "to take the difficult way of the Cross, to incur the penalties and humiliations of earthly failure without any compensating hope of temporal success."

It is here, in the mystery of the Cross, that the two writers converge. For, whilst Mr. Dawson preaches a Christianity that must face and wrestle with the problems of the age, and Miss Murray argues that men have failed to cope adequately with those problems because they leave out of account the lines of the only possible solution, the paramount rights of God *cui servire est regnare*, they are entirely at one in the conviction that no facile solution is to be hoped for. If Christianity promised to its adherents a life of prosperity and ease here below, if the Kingdom of God on earth were indeed a thing of outward pomp and power, and the "hundredfold" promised to its citizens could be expressed in terms of hard cash, or of "position" or of any sort of well-being in the material order, then indeed our present hapless plight would be seen to denote the failure of the Christian assurance. But "does not the Crucifixion of our Lord refute such a judgment for the Christian?" It is because the Christian's ideals are not of this world that the most frightful manifestations of barbarism, so bewildering and even heart-breaking to the

Good Pagan, find the follower of the Crucified not without faith and hope.

For, in the words of Mr. Dawson's rather startling question: "Have we any reason to suppose that the right side necessarily wins? . . . Is history a reasonable process or is it essentially incalculable and irrational?" Of course, the Christian must believe in the reality of an overruling Providence, but this is not necessarily the same as to say that he possesses the key to the world's riddle. History belongs to neither of the two wholly "rational" spheres—the sphere of man-made rationality, such as we see in the products of human thought and human ingenuity, or the higher sphere of that rationality which is attained, understood, but not created by human intelligence. "Between these two realms there is a great intermediate region in which we live, the middle earth of life and history; and that world is submitted to forces which are both lower and higher than man. . ."

There will then, always and inevitably, be found in the story of the world elements, incidents, forces which will not fit into any facile scheme, any purely man-made, *a priori* explanation. Therefore, whilst it remains true that Christianity as an historical religion "is knit up inseparably with the living process of history, . . . we have no right to expect that Christian principles will work in practice in the simple way that a political system may work." For the Christian the one unchanging rule of conduct must be a readiness to act upon the Will of God as it becomes manifest. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things will be added unto you."

It will be seen that the two books are complementary, and dovetail into a pattern. Differing as they do in emphasis, they are entirely at one in spirit. To compare them would be impertinent. Each has qualities, of style, insight, sensitiveness, which the other has not. To commend Mr. Dawson's work is unnecessary; nothing that he writes could be unimportant. But if it is necessary to urge all who can, to read Miss Murray, that is merely because of the accident that this is the first time many have had the opportunity of coming into contact with the mind of a writer whose unassuming simplicity is combined with a shrewdness of judgment and a sensitive sympathy which together have produced a valuable and timely book. Many passages in it call for quotation, but we must content ourselves with repeating this story, which

is so representative. "A party of visitors was being shown over a coal-mine. It was an old coal-mine, where conditions were very bad : the passage down which they went grew lower and lower ; it was hot and wet and most uncomfortable. They approached a coal-face where a miner was obliged to work all day in a crouched position, unable to work upright. The visitors were full of indignation at the intolerable conditions of such work.

"As they approached down the long dark passage, they could hear the man's voice, singing at his work :

Were the whole realm of Nature mine,
That were an offering far too small;
Love so amazing, so divine,
Demands my soul, my life, my all.

and the visitors were silenced.

"The miner of to-day works under better conditions : he has shorter hours, higher wages and pit-head baths, but the 'Love so amazing, so divine' has been taken from him, or rather it has been denied him and hidden from him. No pit-head baths can compensate him for it."

THOMAS CORBISHLEY.

The Materialist

"A ND very vacant was the long blue sea,"
One sang, that long had wandered wearying
Thro' Nature's kingdom, looking for her King,
And found all barren—star and grove and lea.
Now by a sun-bright ocean lingered he
If haply there some trace of God might cling,
But to his heart the levels glistening
Breathed not, for all their music, mystery.

Far out the sea-bird flapped an idle wing
And seabird-like the white ships quietly
Flashed, dipped and vanished on the hazy ring
Of summer waters. Was his spirit free
To pierce the thronging shadows, Lord, and bring
The eye of loving faith to rest on Thee?

T. KING.

THE POLICY OF THE OSTRICH IN PALESTINE

THE 19th of April marked the third anniversary of the beginning of the outbreak of disturbances in Palestine, amounting to a rebellion on the part of the Arabs, which in spite of the employment by the Government of ever-increasing armed military, air and police forces, has continued ever since.

The onset of the revolt has waxed and waned at different times during these three years but watchful observers cannot have failed to note the fact that whenever a too optimistic Secretary of State for the Colonies—and there have been no less than three in the period under review—has metaphorically patted himself on the back in the House of Commons while saying that the forces of disorder are yielding to stern treatment, or words to the same effect, his sanguine forecast has invariably been discredited at a very early date by a further outburst of greater and greater violence.

To those who lived in Palestine in the years preceding 1936 the fact that, as a result of ever-increasing Jewish immigration, the whole country broke into disorder in the spring of that year was not unexpected. The matter for surprise was that it had not done so sooner.

That which equally does not cause surprise to those who know well the country and its Arab inhabitants, is that the natural and necessary consequences have ensued from the methods of repression employed by the armed forces of the Crown, which numerous unofficial British residents state can be compared only to those of the Black and Tans in the Irish rebellion. Arab resentment against British rule is growing more and more acute, so that good will towards Great Britain and the belief in her ultimate sense of justice, which are the most valuable assets on the credit side of the Mandatory Government, are both being rapidly destroyed. There is a conspiracy of silence by which the Arab case, and the facts of what is occurring in Palestine, though set out in the Press of every other country, are never presented in the newspapers of Great Britain owing to a control, whose influence we have also seen in respect of Spain, which albeit unofficial, makes

the boast of the freedom of the Press in this country, as contrasted with its servility in Totalitarian countries little short of nonsense to those who are aware of all the facts.

I can cite instances of correspondents of London daily papers who have complained bitterly of the editing of their cables so as to eliminate anything which was unfavourable to the Jewish case or favourable to that of the Arabs and I can give chapter and verse for the repeated refusal by London papers of the highest note, which enjoy a spurious reputation for impartiality, to print any letters which would place facts or arguments in favour of the Arabs, or against the Jews, or in criticism of the armed forces, before their readers.

Happily, there are other means of disseminating information besides the newspaper press in this country, and the recent publication of two books and of two Government White papers provide enough pabulum for any British reader who is anxious to know the truth about the situation in Palestine and the causes which have led up to it.¹

He will learn from these sources that the Arabs, so far from behaving, as the British Press would have one believe, as savage and irresponsible gangsters, are acting as any sane and self-respecting nation would act when argument and reasoning alike had been brushed on one side. The truth is that Palestine is being flooded with the very people, mainly Polish and Russian Jews, whose immigration into England, where they were described as "undesirable aliens" the British found it necessary to check, only twelve years before the issue of the Balfour Declaration, by the passing of the Aliens Act of 1905.

Mr. Antonius, the author of the first book which I have cited, is an Arab who, after being educated at Cambridge University, held responsible positions for some years in the Government of Palestine. Mr. Jeffries, the author of the second book, is a British publicist whose knowledge of Palestine affairs dates back to the time when he was a Press correspondent in the Middle East. No student of present-day politics can afford to ignore either of these books. The writers

¹ "The Arab Awakening." By George Antonius. London: Hamish Hamilton. Price, 15s. "Palestine: The Reality." By J. M. N. Jeffries. London: Longmans. Price, 25s. "Correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sherif Hussein of Mecca." C.M.D. 5957. London: H.M. Stationery Office. Price, 4d. "Report of a Committee set up to consider certain correspondence between Sir H. McMahon and the Sherif of Mecca." C.M.D. 5974. London: H.M. Stationery Office. Price, 9d.

in each case set out the facts moderately and ably in well-documented volumes which quote chapter and verse for all their assertions. Mr. Antonius is restrained, concise and persuasive. Mr. Jeffries is often witty and always trenchant. Mr. Antonius, as counsel in his own cause, not unnaturally cannot deliver the forcible hammer-strokes with which Mr. Jeffries demolishes the edifice of bad faith upon which our Palestine policy is founded, bad faith the details of which he defines with judicial exactitude.

The Arab contention as set out in detail by the authors in different modes is that the policy which has brought Palestine to its present straits is not only against the eternal principles of abstract justice, not only in conflict with the principles expressly enunciated in the Covenant of the League of Nations which is our sole title-deed as Mandatory, but also in breach of the express promises made by Sir H. McMahon when High Commissioner of Egypt, writing on behalf of the British Government, to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca, which led to the Arab revolt that contributed largely to the overthrow of the Ottoman forces.

After declaring for years that the publication of this correspondence was contrary to the public interest the Government have at last issued it in the first of the White Papers which have been referred to above. This State Paper, together with the other that has been cited, dealing with the arguments and conclusions of the Committee set up by the Colonial Secretary to consider the import of the McMahon correspondence, should also be carefully studied by all who are interested in the Palestine question. The whole question at issue before the Committee was whether Palestine was promised to the Arabs by the British Government or was excluded from the area which was promised independence. The Sherif certainly asked for the inclusion of Palestine as well as of Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and the Arabian peninsula. Sir Henry McMahon, at the orders of the British Government, made certain reservations which can be accurately estimated by study of the text along with the map which is appended to the first White Paper that I have cited. In 1922, when the correspondence, so far as its English text was concerned, was safely buried in the inviolable secrecy of the files of the Foreign Office, Mr. Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, was able peremptorily to dismiss Arab submissions as to the promise that had been made, by saying that "the whole of

Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Sir H. McMahon's pledge."

The Committee which sat in the present year, of which the second White Paper I have cited was the Report, had before it the whole correspondence as a consequence of there being no further point in suppressing it, owing to the fact of Mr. Antonius having let the cat out of the bag by publishing a translation from the Arabic text, preserved in the files of the Sherif Hussein.

At this Committee the Government, through their mouth-piece the Lord Chancellor, short of confessing that they and their predecessors had been placing a false interpretation upon the text (a thing which no British Government would ever do) went a long way towards admitting the Arab contentions. They saved their face by saying, without adducing one scrap of proof of their allegation, that "they maintain that on a proper construction of the correspondence Palestine was in fact excluded," and then they proceeded to say: "but they agree that the language in which its exclusion was expressed was not so specific or unmistakable as it was thought to be at the time."

The last three words are a delicious red herring. How has the effluxion of time served to elucidate the meaning of the correspondence, save that circumstances in the form of Mr. Antonius's book (and now that of Mr. Jeffries) have made concealment of the text unavailing? The best brains of the Foreign Office, the Legal Advisers of that department, even the Law Officers of the Crown themselves have always been available to elucidate the meaning of the words used in the letters to the Sherif. The Government can hardly be surprised if, not Arabs alone but most of those who have studied the correspondence are convinced that the reason for their suppression for so many years was, not anxiety for the public interest, but the fact that the words employed by Sir Henry were realized by successive Governments to be incapable of bearing the strained interpretation ascribed to them by Mr. Churchill and adhered to ever since in order to dupe the public into thinking that they were not inconsistent with the subsequent Balfour Declaration.

This same White Paper is, further, of great importance in that it publishes in official form, for the first time, the repeated assurances given by the British Government to the Arabs, while their armed forces were still of value, to dispel

the fears generated in their minds by the Balfour Declaration. Of these, the first was a message conveyed in Jeddah in January, 1918, by Commander Hogarth of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, on Government instructions, to King Hussein who had protested at the issue of the Balfour Declaration in November, 1917. The gist of this message was that no obstacle would be put by the British Government in the way of the return of Jews to Palestine "in so far as was compatible with the freedom of the existing population both economic and political." This undertaking, until its publication in the White Paper also smothered in the files of the Foreign Office, purported to safeguard Arab rights in a far more explicit manner than the published proviso in the Balfour Declaration, which was also embodied in the preamble to the Mandate, that "nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." "Economic and political freedom," it will be observed, is a much more ascertainable entity than are the somewhat nebulous "civil and religious rights."

Six months after conveying this message to the Sherif, Commander Hogarth was, on June 16, 1918, commissioned, along with an officer of the Intelligence Service, to issue what is known as "The Declaration to the Seven," which was a statement made to seven Arab notables in Cairo who, after the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration, had qualms similar to those of the Sherif as to the intentions of Great Britain *vis-à-vis* Palestine.

"It is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government," ran the crucial passage in this declaration, which is printed in full in the White Paper, "that the future government of these regions [which included Palestine] should be based upon the principles of the consent of the governed and this policy has and will always continue to have the support of His Majesty's Government." A further undertaking which is printed in the White Paper is that given by General Sir Edmund (afterwards Viscount) Allenby to the Amir Faisal, the son of the Sherif, in the following autumn. In reporting this to the Government on October 17, 1918, General Allenby said: "I reminded the Amir Faisal that the Allies were in honour bound to endeavour to reach a settlement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned, and urged him to place his trust whole-heartedly in their good faith."

Finally the White Paper prints the Anglo-French Declaration of November 7, 1918, which was, by General Allenby's order, posted up all over Palestine in the week in which the Great War drew to its close. In this it was said that the object aimed at by the Allies was "the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations."

In view of it having considered the documents from which I have made these quotations, it is hardly surprising that the Report of the Committee on the McMahon correspondence signed by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Maugham, present, as he himself emphasized, not in a judicial capacity but as the representative of His Majesty's Government; signed also by the Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office and by a representative of the Foreign Office, states that "it is evident from these statements that His Majesty's Government were not free to dispose of Palestine without regard for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of Palestine." One's mind reels at the inconsistencies of British politics when one appreciates the fact that, almost simultaneously with this statement made by no less a person than the Lord Chancellor as representing the Government, it was announced that the Arabs, who are still more than two-thirds of the population of Palestine, having rejected the proposals of the Colonial Secretary at the recent Conference, the Government intend at an early date to formulate anew a policy for Palestine and then impose it willynilly on the Arab majority.

One need only say, in passing, that the proposals which were rejected by the Arab delegation were rejected because they contemplated continued Jewish immigration on a substantial scale and postponed giving political control to the majority during a probationary period the length of which was to depend upon the extent of the collaboration of Jews and Arabs during its course, so that the Jewish minority were to have been enabled under it to increase their numerical proportion and to postpone to the Greek Kalends, or at any rate until they had become a majority, the grant of self-government to the country.

One may also point out, in this connexion, as illustrating the blind lack of logic in the proposal, that when pressure was recently brought to bear in Parliament upon the Government to open wide the doors of England to non-Aryan re-

fugees from Central Europe, Sir Samuel Hoare declined to accede to the proposal, declaring that much care would have to be taken in controlling the immigration of such persons, in view of the strong undercurrent of anti-Semitism in England which the police reported to him as Home Secretary. In Palestine, by our actions during the last twenty years we have lit and fanned the flame of anti-Semitism which did not exist to any degree before the issue of the Mandate, and yet our politicians are constrained, by forces at which we can only guess, to propose to continue to add fuel to the flames at the very time when they profess, after three years of bloodshed, to be trying to find a way to peace.

At this point it may be asked, naturally enough, how far Christian interests and the security of the Christian Holy Places are likely to be endangered by any change in the political status of the Holy Land. To Catholics throughout the world, particularly, a just and early solution of the question of Palestine is of the highest importance as involving the safety of its shrines which are their especial concern. To British Catholics the matter is of the greater moment, inasmuch as the present situation is a standing reproach which is bound to reflect more and more adversely upon our international prestige, since the Holy Land is the resort of pilgrims from all over the world whose personal impressions of this country must, in many instances, be derived only from that which they observe of British rule in Palestine.

It is an error to suppose that the anti-Christian fanaticism of the Ottoman Turks is a natural characteristic of Moslem peoples which, if unfettered by our Mandatory control, would be displayed equally by the Arabs in the event of their gaining control.

Guarantees, of course, there would have to be, but the Moslem Arab is far more tolerant than is the Turk. He has been accustomed for centuries to the presence of Christians and the practice of Christianity in his midst. Indeed, a considerable number of Christians mainly of the Greek Church, to a less extent Greek Uniates and to a still smaller extent of the Latin rite, are to be numbered among the Arabs of Palestine.

After ten years' experience of Palestine, I say without any hesitation that one would expect far more respect for religion from any Arab, and for the Christian religion and the Christian Holy Places from the most strongly Moslem Arab, if living contentedly and securely in Palestine, than from the

atheistic Jews of Bolshevik propensities who form a considerable proportion of the Zionist immigrants into that country.

On the other hand, the recent riot which led to the murder of the British Consul at Mosul, by a mob which was persuaded that King Ghazi had been killed by the British, in spite of the fact that the young sovereign had enjoyed no very great personal popularity, the revival of anti-British demonstrations in Egypt, reports of growing discontent among the Moslems, hitherto our best friends, in the Indian Empire, are all straws which show the way in which the wind blows in the world of Islam as a consequence of our subservience to Zionist forces in Palestine.

Even if we are unaffected by the fact that we are offending against abstract justice, or for that matter plain common sense, in pouring new wine into old bottles, even if we are indifferent to the fact that our vaunted *bona fides* in international affairs is gravely impugned by our policy in Palestine, even if as taxpayers we are willing to bear the increasing cost of military forces in that country, one would have thought that the most obtuse politician would realize that in the present grave crisis in international affairs it is inexpedient, to put it mildly, to have a running sore at the most vital spot in our Mediterranean communications, which calls for a continuing garrison on such a scale as to immobilize in Palestine, for mere purposes of internal security, troops equal in number to nearly a quarter of the whole expeditionary force which was available in 1914 for the defence of Allied interests on the Continent of Europe.

Parnell once declared that no man has a right to set a limit to the march of a nation, a principle which after the effusion of blood and tears over many decades Great Britain was ultimately obliged to concede in Ireland. In these days when self-government is, rightly or wrongly, the key-note of British policy in India and when, in spite of the protests of the "settlers," native rights in Africa are matters of scrupulous concern to our rulers, it is astonishing to see the same rulers flouting the rights of Arabs in Palestine by aiding and encouraging Jewish immigration, in the teeth of Arab opposition, to such a degree that the indigenous Arab population sees looming before it the danger of Jewish parity, to be followed at no long interval by a Jewish majority, if a brake is not rapidly put on immigration, both lawful and unlawful, into the country.

The expressed *raison d'être* of Mandates such as that which we hold in Palestine is "to give administrative advice and assistance" to former Ottoman subjects in territories emancipated from Turkish rule, "until they can stand alone." Under cover of this, regardless of all the talk of self-determination of small nationalities which preceded and accompanied the birth of the League of Nations, we are engaged in dragooning the people of Palestine who resent the intrusion *vi et armis* in their midst of persons alien to them in race, in religion, in tradition and in culture.

That which seems to be forgotten so often in this country is that you cannot hold up your hands in horror at the misdeeds of your neighbours if those same hands are not clean.

It is well that we should remember that all our talk of ranging the "peace-loving democracies" against dictatorships comes ill from our mouths, when for three years we have been engaged in employing a military despotism in an endeavour to stamp underfoot the national and democratic aspirations of the Arabs of Palestine whose "well-being and development" by a hideous irony it is stated in the Covenant of the League of Nations "forms a sacred trust of civilization."

We can hardly be surprised that Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini are given occasion to blaspheme when we are so ready to exclaim against the mote in our neighbour's eye without dealing first with the beam in our own.

MICHAEL F. J. McDONNELL.

NOTICE

Copies of the "Appreciations" of Father Joseph Keating, S.J., published in the April issue, together with the illustrations, may be obtained, in souvenir form (3d. each: post free), from The Manresa Press, Roehampton, London, S.W.15.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

DID ST. PATRICK KEEP SATURDAY HOLY INSTEAD OF SUNDAY?

NO one who has made any close acquaintance with Adventist and Watch Tower literature can fail to be struck by the low level of education and the lack of intelligence which betray themselves in nearly all these publications whether large or small. A leaflet circulated by the Seventh-Day Adventists which bears the imprint of Belfast and is presumably designed to appeal more especially to people of Irish nationality, affords so curious an example of pretended erudition combined with surprising ignorance that it seems to call for a few words of notice. The tract asks the question "Did St. Patrick observe Saturday or Sunday as the Sabbath?" and the answer returned affirms, or rather assumes, that the early Celtic Church, in contrast to the rest of the world, set a noble example of adhering to the Mosaic law promulgated in the Old Testament. The writer's own unfamiliarity with things that are known to every student of Celtic origins catches the eye at the first glance. The authority principally cited by him in proof of the conclusion arrived at is referred to as "Shene, a prolific writer on the history of the Culdees." The name occurs three times, and on each occasion it is printed Shene, although every educated reader will know that the scholar meant must be W. F. Skene, appointed, in 1881, Historiographer Royal for Scotland. Similarly the author of "The Monks of the West" figures among our pamphleteer's authorities as "Montolenabert," and Adamnan as "Adaman," while to W. D. Killen is attributed a book "The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," which presumably stands for that bitterly prejudiced author's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland." It is also interesting to learn after a mention of Archbishop Lanfranc who died in 1089 that: "By this time the Roman Catholic Church had become established in the south-east of England."

Apart, however, from the obvious incompetence of the compiler of this tract, the question raised by him has a certain interest, because he professes to substantiate St. Patrick's alleged sabbatarianism by the testimony of such Catholic writers as Alban Butler, Montalembert and Bellesheim. There seems to be nothing in the relevant passages of the two former beyond a simple reference to the words spoken by St. Columba at Hii just before his death in 597. The words are recalled by Bellesheim in the passage now to be quoted, where that author is giving an account of the five notable abuses in the Scottish Church which the Queen, St.

Margaret, about the year 1090, denounced in an address she made to a Council of Scottish rulers. The fourth point in her speech is reported by Bellesheim as follows :

The Queen further protested against the prevailing abuse of Sunday desecration. "Let us," she said, "venerate the Lord's day, seeing that upon it our Saviour rose from the dead: let us do no servile work on that day, whereon we were redeemed from the slavery of the devil." So powerfully did these and similar arguments weigh with the Scots and with such strictness, in consequence, did they observe in future the sanctity of the Sunday, that no one, we are told, dared on that day to carry any burdens himself or to compel others to do so. The Scots in this matter had no doubt kept up the traditional practice of the ancient monastic Church of Ireland, which observed Saturday rather than Sunday as the day of rest. Adamnan has told us how St. Columba on the last Saturday of his life said to his faithful attendant Diarmaid, "This day in the Holy Scripture is called the Sabbath, which means rest, and it is indeed a Sabbath to me for it is the last day of my present laborious life and on it I rest after the fatigues of my labours. This night at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's Day, I shall go the way of our fathers." The Celtic Church, as has already been pointed out, while observing the Lord's Day as a religious solemnity, appears to have followed the Jews in resting from labour on the Saturday.¹

There need be no hesitation in declaring that there is not a scrap of serious evidence to support this conclusion. Bellesheim has simply adopted, without further inquiry, a statement made by Skene ("Celtic Scotland," Vol. II, pp. 348—350) who conjectures that the Scots of Queen Margaret's day "seem to have followed a custom of which we find traces in the early monastic Church of Ireland, by which they held Saturday to be the Sabbath on which they rested from their labours, and on Sunday, as the Lord's day, they celebrated the resurrection by the service in church." Mr. Skene talks of "traces in the early monastic Church of Ireland," but neither he nor any other writer professes to supply any account of these "traces," except the single passage from Adamnan which tells us nothing at all except that the word "sabbath" etymologically means rest or cessation (*chômage*, knocking off work)—a quite correct statement. Neither Adamnan nor St. Margaret says a syllable about not working on Saturday; and it is plain enough that the latter was simply outraged by the fact that the people around her paid little heed to Sunday but continued their ordinary avocations as usual.

¹ Canon Bellesheim, "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland." Translated by Abbot Hunter Blair, O.S.B. Vol. I, pp. 249—250, and cf. p. 86.

One might hesitate to speak so positively about a matter which belongs to the domain of the Celtic specialist, were it not for the fact that writers like Dr. J. Kenney, "The Sources for the early History of Ireland"; Dom Gougaud, "Christianity in Celtic Lands"; Whitley Stokes in his edition of the "Vita Tripartita," etc., apparently know nothing about this curious Irish custom of abstaining from work on the Saturday. What evidence there is points quite decisively in the opposite direction. For example, Dr. W. Reeves, a sound Irish scholar, who became (Protestant) Bishop of Down and Connor, points out, in his commentary on Adamnan (Bk. III, ch. 12, pp. 211 and 346), that Sundays and great festivals of Saints "were solemnized by *rest from labour*, the celebration of Mass and the use of better food." Similarly, in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick we learn that "at the great church of Mag Reta Patrick abode throughout a Sunday; and on that Sunday they were digging the foundation of Rath Baccain the royal stronghold of the district. Patrick sent to forbid this." Again one of the best known of the anecdotes collected by Muirchu describes how St. Patrick, while resting on a Sunday near Dundrum, was disturbed by men working on a fortification, and, though they were pagans, he sent to tell them "not to work on the Lord's day." They paid no heed, but the following night a gale accompanied by a heavy sea destroyed all that they had built.¹ There is not the least fragment of evidence to suggest that St. Patrick himself ever abstained from work on Saturdays, or paid any especial attention to Saturdays.

Finally, in connexion with the absurd contention of Mrs. E. White, the Adventist seeress, who holds "the Romish Church" responsible for the substitution of Sunday for Saturday as the day of rest, it seems worth while to quote the 29th canon of the synod of Laodicea in Phrygia. This canon was enacted about the year 380, some years before the birth of St. Patrick, and runs as follows:

Christians shall not Judaize and be idle on Saturday, but shall work on that day. But the Lord's day they shall especially honour, and, as being Christians, shall if possible do no work on that day. If, however, they are found Judaizing they shall be shut out of the Church.

The point is interesting in its bearing on the theory of F. E. Warren and many other Anglicans that the Celtic liturgy owed its inspiration to Oriental sources.

H.T.

¹ Stokes, "Vita Tripartita," Rolls Series, pp. 193 and 323.

TWO BIBLICAL SCHOLARS.

WITH some encouragement from the new Editor of THE MONTH I offer some further remarks upon Father Keating, to whom such striking tributes have already been paid, and to Archbishop Goodier, to whom, I believe, a tribute still remains to be paid. May they rest in peace! Both were profoundly edifying; but it is not this aspect of their lives upon which I would touch, but upon another aspect that was likewise common to both, their devotion to Holy Writ and the work which they did for it. Even the Westminster Version was a common interest to them, for Archbishop Goodier found time to make a valuable contribution to it.

If I write of "two biblical scholars," I must not be understood to call them biblical experts; both would have disowned the title, and (it must be confessed) with justice, taking the term in its strict sense. But both were good scholars, and applied their scholarship to the Sacred Scriptures, knowing, as I think I may safely say, more about them than was generally realized.

I had the privilege of being taught by Father Keating for two years at Beaumont, in "Syntax" and "Poetry" (1891—1893); and as all who taught me are now dead, I think I may remark that he was the most able of them all. He was an admirable example of the *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*; he was kind, even affectionate to his boys, but without any appearance of severity never had any difficulty in maintaining order. His Latin and Greek were good, and remained good to the end; though he seldom, if ever, insisted on a point of scholarship in the Westminster Version against my own judgment, he was fully capable of grasping the arguments in such matters and of making valuable suggestions. But as I look back, I think that it was in teaching English that he was at his best; he had a real gift, and a gift that he carefully cultivated, both in writing and reading English, and also in criticizing what was written, whether good, bad or indifferent. It has always seemed to me a rather striking fact that he read through Tennyson's "Idylls of the King" to us in such a way as to excite real interest and pleasure. I am conscious of owing him much in this way, even if I ought to owe him more; and I always had a great respect for his criticisms upon the style of our translations in the Westminster Version. Indeed I used to tell him in jest that I had spent all my life having my English compositions corrected by him. Another debt I had to him was of a spiritual kind: not indeed my vocation itself (for that was already some years old), but a strengthening in it—not that I am sure that I spoke to him about it—and the general maintaining and raising of spiritual ideals.

Such was the background to our partnership in the Westminster Version. The Editor has already remarked that his two articles in THE MONTH entitled "Wanted: a readable Bible" (May and

June, 1908) "seemed to forecast the Westminster Version." They may be said, indeed, to have provided its starting-point; for it was in discussions based upon them that the Version took shape. We approached the question from different but complementary stand-points; Father Keating was mainly anxious for literary quality and worthy get-up, while I myself desired an accurate translation of a critically correct text of the originals.

The atmosphere at St. Beuno's, in fact, was not very encouraging. At the end of last century Catholics still seemed in some ways only to be emerging from the catacombs; St. Beuno's itself had been built in 1848, as much out of the way as possible, in order to avoid the danger of expulsion. But Father Keating in London thought that the time had come for a bold step forward, and he held to his purpose tenaciously in spite of considerable difficulties, more especially that of the outbreak of war in 1914. Ever since then the general tendency has been for the cost of the production of books to rise, and for the purchasing power of the public to decrease.

He did not care to associate himself with the Old Testament version. His own interest remained, but it was a personal one, and he was nearing the end of his course, and he was uncertain of the future. His knowledge of Hebrew, too, was very limited, so that he felt that his co-operation would lose much of its value. There was also the fact that the Old Testament offered a vaster and more difficult task than the New. Thank God, the work has advanced so far that it is not at all likely to be abandoned; but shortage of funds makes progress necessarily slow. Not that there has actually been any delay due to this cause; but it is only possible to invite a comparatively small number of collaborators, for fear of having to keep them waiting several years for the publication of their finished work. On the other hand, some who fear the expense of the whole work may well remember that they are not asked to buy it, and it is to be hoped that they will find they have made a good investment if they purchase the individual parts for their own sake as they come out. Any part can always be brought out if there be anyone ready to meet the cost of production! For myself, I am satisfied that the Westminster Version is doing a good work both among Catholics and non-Catholics: among Catholics, because a reliable translation of the originals is a first condition of any solid knowledge of Holy Writ: among non-Catholics, because religion to the Englishman means the Bible, and a recall to religion must be a recall to the Bible.

Father Keating was palpably connected with biblical work; I sometimes wonder whether Archbishop Goodier has been given quite enough credit for his devotion to Holy Scripture. He was, of course, greatly in request for retreats, so much so that to preserve his health he was obliged to refuse a very large number, and to be very strict on the point; returning from India an almost

broken man, he was faced with an insatiable demand alike for retreats and for books. I believe it to be a fact that Cardinal Bourne said that he regarded him as the greatest spiritual force in the country; he himself, I may add, was devoted to the Cardinal, and never refused him anything that he could possibly give, and the Cardinal responded with the greatest esteem and affection. Archbishop Goodier accomplished the one task in Bombay that supremely needed doing, the settlement of the *padroado* question by the abolition of personal (as opposed to territorial) jurisdiction, and he was content to be sacrificed in the process. He came home, and found another immense apostolate open to him, and fulfilled no small part of it in a comparatively short time, more (when all is said and done) in virtue of what he was than of what he did. But Holy Scripture was a very vital part alike of himself and of his work, a sure foundation upon which he was careful to build.

There are two books of his, "About the Old Testament" (B.O. & W.: 3s. 6d.), and "The Bible for Every Day" (B.O. & W.: 5s.), which show a considerable familiarity with the Scriptures in general, and should always be found useful. The latter, a series of extracts for every day in the year, was put together with great care and (with characteristic humility) submitted to several critics for additions and excisions; I was glad myself to be able to arrange that the New Testament extracts should be taken from the Westminster Version, and he was very grateful for this. His knowledge of St. Paul he showed to some extent in the Westminster Version, though here, as in the case of the Old Testament, his knowledge went far beyond anything published. But all are agreed that his best biblical work was upon the Life of Our Lord. He had been taken round Palestine by a very competent guide, and with his vivid imagination made full use of this opportunity. He interpreted our Lord with marvellous effect, being himself in many ways so like the Master. He did not pretend to have a scientific basis for every detail that he worked into the picture, but admitted frankly that he was making a reconstruction out of what seemed possible and probable. That, surely, is the only way in which we can contemplate the life of our Lord, and it is the method followed by St. Ignatius; we must see everything in the concrete, but without any pretence that all the details are certain. The story, thus built up from reliable knowledge and reasonable conjecture, with all its spiritual significance well thought out, came straight from his heart, and went straight to the heart of his hearers or readers: once more, *cor ad cor loquitur*.

I was never really stationed in the same house as Archbishop Goodier; for his short and infrequent visits to Heythrop for the purpose of lecturing upon Ascetics—valuable and valued as the lectures were—can hardly be said to have made him a member of the resident staff. But all through this present century I saw him from time to time, and in the course of the years I came to ex-

change a good many letters with him about various matters. A word or a letter from him was always a treat; he was full of a gentle sympathy and encouragement almost sacramental in their power to bring about what he was so ready to foresee and believe, the best and more than the best that all could do. He has left his mark upon our time and country, and among other things remains a model of the best use of Holy Scripture. Of him, as of Father Keating, the present writer will always cherish a grateful memory, in which Holy Scripture will play a large part—Holy Scripture in all its holiness.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

THE DERWENTWATER NEWSLETTERS.

RECENT Calendars of Domestic State Papers, covering the period from 1679 to 1683, are not only valuable for the history of the most troubled period of the reign of Charles II, but also throw many sidelights upon events about which historians are by no means agreed. For the story of the last years of Charles II has yet to be written. And among these sidelights the most important are provided in these Calendars by the numerous newsletters set out there at great length. These the Calendars incorrectly term "Greenwich Hospital newsletters" though at no period in its history did Greenwich Hospital collect such newsletters.

As a matter of fact, they were all collected by Sir Francis Radcliffe (or Radclyffe), the third Baronet, who was created Earl of Derwentwater by James II, in March, 1688. And since these newsletters came to Greenwich Hospital at the same time and by the same methods as the Derwentwater Estates and from the same owners, they should be known as the Derwentwater newsletters.¹

Sir Francis Radcliffe, of Dilston, was attacked by Titus Oates at the end of 1678. Oates asserted in the "Articles" of his "Plot" that Sir Francis, who was one of the wealthiest landowners in the Northern counties, was to be the Major General of an Army to conquer England, and that he had received a commission from Rome. Sir Francis Radcliffe, therefore, in common with several peers and other prominent persons, accused, had been committed to the custody of a Serjeant-at-Arms. After a few months when no one had come forward to corroborate Oates's assertions, Sir Francis regained his liberty. On giving security for £5,000, coupled with an undertaking for his close residence at Dilston, Sir Francis was liberated on June 4, 1679.

¹ Dr. Craster, now Bodley's Librarian, in his admirably referenced tenth (Corbridge) volume of the monumental "History of Northumberland," has described in detail the complicated legal history of the means by which eighteenth-century Governments obtained possession of the Estates and passed them on to Greenwich Hospital.

Oates's supporters, particularly Lord Shaftesbury, had not yet, however, abandoned their hopes of securing so rich a prize as the Dilston and other estates owned by Sir Francis and did their best to induce a former page at Dilston, John Zeale, who was living in London at the time and was in debt, to swear away the life of his old master. Roger North tells us, in his "Examen," that Zeale "had a spice of the pickthank" (sycophant) in him but gives some prominence to Zeale's own badly-written "Narrative," published in 1683, when Oates and Shaftesbury had ceased to count with thinking men. Actually Sir Francis Radcliffe was not further molested, but it will be realized that he had every reason to keep himself well informed about all that occurred in London during the critical years before 1683.

Dilston Hall, now represented only by a ruined chapel and ancient tower, was situated on the south side of the river Tyne, opposite Corbridge, and was three miles S.E. of Hexham and eighteen miles west of Newcastle-on-Tyne, then the Post town on the "Great North Road," to which all letters for the whole district were sent. In those days there were only three posts a week from London, and the recipient of a letter was compelled to go, or to send someone, to claim his letters and to pay the postage charged. So Sir Francis Radcliffe sent one of his footmen to Newcastle-on-Tyne thrice every week to claim his letters. In the "Household book" of the steward at Dilston, Richard Hayles (printed in "*Archæologia Æliana*"), the sums paid by the footman are recorded in minute detail, ranging from threepence for a single letter to three or four shillings according to the number of letters received. Rarely, indeed, were there no letters at all. The footman must have occupied nearly a whole day in journeying to and from Newcastle-on-Tyne and on each occasion was allowed the sum of sixpence (nearly half a crown in our money) for his "charges," or refreshment at Newcastle. It is easy to realize that he brought back with him for Sir Francis's perusal, the old newsletters from the inns frequented by him. Roger Garstell of "The Fleece Tavern" and John Squier, who may have been a coffee-house keeper, are the two persons to whom the most important of these newsletters were addressed. For instance, the Calendar of Domestic State Papers from September, 1680 (when the attempts to suborn Zeale were at their height), to December, 1681, contains no fewer than ninety-three so-called "Greenwich Hospital newsletters." Of these, twenty-four are addressed to Sir Francis Radcliffe, thirty-six to Roger Garstell, and thirty-three to John Squier. They occupy the bulk of the pages of the Calendar.

Newsletters were never signed and had no other heading than "London"—the only exception to this last rule being the case of Henry Muddiman, who invariably headed his letters "Whitehall," to testify the "privilege" granted to him for his services at the

Restoration, although his offices and staff of clerks worked in the Strand. A number of the letters collected by Sir Francis Radcliffe are headed "Whitehall" and may thus be traced to their writer, but the majority have no such heading and were the work of individuals whose identity can be discovered only with great difficulty. It is not easy to give an account of these writers, whose names can be found in the Privy Council Registers or in the newspapers of the times accompanied by some abuse from opponents. Roger L'Estrange, of course, was attacked by some of them, and mentions their names in his pamphlet "A Civil Discourse betwixt Zekiel and Ephraim," but none of these authorities indulges in biographical detail.

However, the one who attracted most attention, for the simple reason that he was most frequently in trouble, was Benjamin Claypole, who lived in Fleet Street, near Temple Bar. Claypole's name recalls that of John Claypole, Cromwell's son-in-law, of whom he was probably a distant relation, for he was a decided Whig. He first came into prominence as the writer of the "Domestick Intelligence" published by Nathaniel Thompson at the end of August, 1679, in competition with the "Domestick Intelligence" of Benjamin Harris, the anabaptist who, in later years, was to achieve distinction as the first American journalist.¹ No doubt "Popish Nat," as he was called, thought that he would divert attention from the fact that he himself had been punished for publishing a Catholic catechism, by employing a writer of such unimpeachably Protestant antecedents. If so, he soon learnt his mistake, for on December 12, 1679, Claypole was taken into custody for drawing up petitions for the sitting of Parliament, and on February 17, 1680, he was compelled to apologize abjectly in Thompson's "Domestick Intelligence" to Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for having reported and published the two trials of Benjamin Harris (on February 5th) and Francis Smith, another anabaptist (on February 7th).

Both of these had published incendiary tracts of historical importance, so much so that Howell in his edition of "State Trials" thought fit to reprint both of Claypole's reports, with some additions of his own. It is only fair to add that Howell was unaware of Scroggs's remarks and of Claypole's apology. On September 24, 1681, a warrant was issued for Claypole's arrest "for writing false news and scandalous newsletters, and posting them all over the Kingdom" and on September 29th he was bound over in £1,000 for this offence. Finally, on February 16, 1682, Claypole addressed a newsletter to Cicely Griffith at the Globe in Wells. This came into the hands of the Bishop of Bath and Wells,

¹ I have traced Harris's career in five long articles in *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 163, pp. 129, 147, 166, 223 and 273. The life of Harris in the American D.N.B. is ill-informed and useless.

who was so indignant at the false news it contained concerning the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol that he forwarded it to the Secretary of State. What afterwards ensued is not recorded. But as some of Claypole's newsletters are undoubtedly to be found in Sir Francis Radcliffe's collection care has to be taken to discover the contradictions which may be in the letters themselves.

Sir Francis Radcliffe died in 1697. The devotion to the cause of the Stuarts of James Radcliffe, his grandson, the third Earl of Derwentwater, is well known. Three times he refused a pardon for his share in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, since the conditions attached to such a pardon were that he should renounce the Faith and his legitimate King. He was beheaded on Tower Hill upon February 24, 1716. There were then, and there are still, many who claim that he died a martyr.

The popular idea that the Derwentwater estates were forfeited by the attainder of the third Earl is mistaken, for he had only a life interest in them. Proceedings against the estates commenced only with a retrospective Act of 1731. Alone of all who supported the Stuart cause, the Radcliffes suffered by this Act. As a result of this and of later Acts Dilston Hall, its title deeds and its contents, were passed on to Greenwich Hospital. The income from the Derwentwater estates is said nowadays to amount to over £239,000 per annum. In 1765, the dismantled Hall was demolished and its materials sold. Ten years later nearly all that remained was levelled to the ground. In 1865, the Greenwich Hospital estates were transferred to the Lords of the Admiralty, who sold Dilston in 1874 to Lord Allendale. Nevertheless, the Radcliffes are not forgotten in their own county.

J. G. MUDDIMAN.

"THE MONTH" FORWARDING SCHEME

Readers who are willing to forward their "Month" to a missionary or to provide an annual subscription (14s.) for one to be sent direct to the more distant outposts are asked to communicate with The Hon. Secretary, "The Month" Forwarding Scheme, 31 Farm Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.1. Readers *must* enclose a stamped addressed envelope, and all names and addresses, whether of missionaries applying for "The Month," or readers providing it, *should be printed in capitals.*

FOREIGN STAMPS, particularly from British Colonies, are collected by the Secretary and sold for the work of the Forwarding Scheme. These should be cut off leaving roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ in. margin. If edges or backs are damaged they are useless.

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

- AMERICA: April 15, 1939. **The Dutch Crusade for a new Social Order**, by C. E. McGuire. [Expressing an American appreciation of the campaign, now launched in Holland, for the complete renovation of social life.]
- BLACKFRIARS: April, 1939. **Moral-Rearmament**, by Father Hilary Carpenter, O.P. [A timely examination of a new "religious" crusade, closely akin to the Group Movement, which is now launching an appeal to the public.]
- BUCKFAST CHRONICLE: March, 1939. **In Memoriam Abbot Vonier**. [A splendidly-produced Memorial number, bearing witness to the life and achievement of the late Abbot.]
- CATHOLIC HERALD: April 14, 1939. **Catholic Peace Appeal**. [A courageous effort on the part of the Editor to keep the idea of Peace and a new Peace Conference before the eyes of Catholics and non-Catholics in the present crisis.]
- CATHOLIC TIMES: April 14, 1939. **That Polish "Corridor,"** by Gregory Macdonald. [Provides in small compass some useful information about a part of Europe the rightful ownership of which is often disputed.]
- CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA: April 1, 1939. **I Protestanti in Italia**, by Father D. Mondrone, S.J. [A review of Father Crivelli's works on Protestant activity in Italy during this and the last century—the subject also of a recent review by Father Thurston.]
- CLERGY REVIEW: April, 1939. **Satisfaction and Indulgences in the Light of the Mystical Body**, by Father H. F. Davis. [A welcome study of the doctrine of Indulgences in its connexion with the Communion of Saints.]
- DOWNSIDE REVIEW: April, 1939. **Communism, Capitalism and a Thomist**, by Dom Ralph Russell. [Contains sound reflections on the Christian attitude towards Communism and the need for a renewal of individual Christian living.]
- ÉTUDES: April 5, 1939. **Notre Paix Intérieure**, by Père Paul Doncoeur, S.J. [An admirable exhortation, founded upon a passage of Péguy, to courage and serenity in difficult days.]
- IRISH MONTHLY: April, 1939. **Functional Democracy**, by Rev. W. McDonagh, S.J. [A clear and useful explanation of what is meant in the Encyclicals by "a sane corporatism."]
- TABLET: April 22, 1939. **The Enemies of Peace**. [A valuable editorial which points out that excess of moral indignation serves the cause of war rather than peace, and appeals for a sense of perspective.]
- UNIVERSE: April 6, 1939. **The Church is at War and the World in Peril**, by Hilaire Belloc. [Some timely words on present problems and on the modern drift towards chaos.]

REVIEWS

1—COMMUNISM ONCE MORE¹

A READABLE biography of Lenin has long been wanted and Mr. Christopher Hollis has now made provision for our need. Though it is obvious that he has no sympathy with the ideals, if they merit the term, and the policy of this arch-revolutionary, he does succeed in showing us something of his human side. Lenin's letters to his mother and sister, written from exile, are full of human and quite normal touches: he would write of climbing and shooting and of days spent in the open air. Combined with a devotion to his own kin was a sentiment of passionate, almost family hatred of the Czarist regime under which his brother had been executed. His mental development, the abnormal strain produced by an artificial existence abroad, his constant criticism of and quarrels with his fellow-revolutionaries who considered him a tiresome nuisance—all this is portrayed for us in vivid manner by Mr. Hollis.

The book bears the sub-title: "Portrait of a Professional Revolutionary." And this, in fact, Lenin was. What made him stand out from among his temperamental and often neurotic companions was a tenacity of purpose, a strict adherence to an undiluted Marxist programme, the determination to win everything or nothing. Except for the extraordinary accident of Russia's break-up in 1917, he would have achieved nothing: as it was, it is to Lenin more than to any other individual that the phenomenon of Bolshevism is due. When others wished to compromise with Liberals and Mensheviks he stood firm: though he was to prove an opportunist in action, he hated all opportunism in policy and theory; and in this he differed completely from his coadjutor Trotsky and his successor Stalin. He remained throughout a dogmatic atheist and the anti-religious aspect of Communism can be traced to his influence, though here he was perpetuating the tradition of nineteenth-century Russian revolutionaries. "His mind," Mr. Hollis assures us, referring to his writings and those of others, "insisted on scanning every sentence and phrase." He suspected the phrases of every-day life because he found in them metaphorically religious meanings, "terrified lest, like Blake with a grain

¹ (1) *Lenin*. By Christopher Hollis. London: Longmans. Pp. viii, 286. Price, 10s. 6d. (2) *Communism and Christians*. By Various Authors. Translated by J. F. Scanlan. London: Paladin Press. Pp. 294. Price, 7s. 6d. (3) *What is Communism?* By Father E. Delaye, S.J. Translated by Bernard F. Schumacher. London: Herder. Pp. 192. Price, 8s. 6d. (4) *Communism Questioned and Answered*. By Father R. M. Dowdall, O.P. Dublin: Irish Rosary Office. Pp. xiv, 174. Price, 1s. 6d.

of sand, he might catch God lurking in some apparently harmless semi-colon."

The two revolutions, that of Kerensky and later that of the Bolsheviks, with the various devices by which these destroyed democracy and secured power for themselves, along with the Soviet invasion of Poland, are graphically described. We are left with the impression of a ruthless, partly inhuman and somewhat unbalanced character, inspired rather by the consequences of theory than by any nobler love of human beings, ambitious to set up a preconceived millennium at whatever cost of human suffering and blood.

Communism and Christians contains a series of articles translated from the French. The core of the book consists of a long treatment of "Communist and Catholic Doctrine," by Père Ducatillon, O.P. This is an excellent and thorough analysis of Communist ideas, presented with that lucidity that is characteristic of the best French minds. Its author examines Communist materialism, its theory of the class trouble and its attitude towards property and religion. He justifies his analysis by constant quotation from Marxist sources and the general tone of his argument is philosophical and objective. It is an admirable study but it needs close reading. The other essays are shorter and supplementary. François Mauriac has a few hurried words to say about the Christian's dilemma: M. Berdyaev treats of human personality and Marxism stressing the dehumanization which the latter would achieve: M. de Rougemont emphasizes the Christian notion that man must be first changed and bettered if society is to be reformed: and finally M. Daniel-Rops reminds us that it is Christian slackness and deafness to the call of social duties that have made the path of Marxism far easier than it should have been. The whole work is valuable and should be read and studied by all who have a serious interest in the problems which Communism has raised for thinking Christians.

What is Communism? is once again a translation from the French, and the original work was published by the *Action Populaire* in Paris. Its purpose differs somewhat from that of the volume previously considered. It aims at giving a clear and well-connected exposition of the principal ideas held by Communists. It does not, however, confine itself to a bare outline but examines the Communist attitude towards Fascism, the method by which Fascism should be and is combated and finally has a good deal to say about Fascism itself. It is a useful work and might well serve the purpose of a textbook for study circles.

A much simpler book presented in the form of a catechism is *Communism Questioned and Answered*, arranged by Father R. M. Dowdall, O.P. It is not a direct analysis of Communist thought but rather a simple explanation, in question and answer, of the various points of Catholic doctrine that have been attacked by

Marxists. There is a short glossary of technical terms, and references to useful books are given at the end. It is a clear, valuable and well-arranged summary that can be recommended to those who have not the time, or even inclination, to work their way through more serious volumes.

J. M.

2—RECENT PSYCHOLOGICAL WORKS¹

THE first of these three books—*La Psychologie Expérimentale en Italie. École de Milan*—is especially welcome for two reasons. Firstly, it brings the work of the Milan school to the notice of those who do not read Italian. Secondly, it forms a valuable compendium of many of the important monographs which have been issued from the Milan laboratories.

Father Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., is the Rector of the Catholic University of Milan, and he is also Director of the Psychological Institute of that University. In Professor Gemelli we have a priest and doctor, a physiologist, psychologist and sociologist. An imposing list of his published works, and those published under his direction by his pupils, is given at the end of the book, together with a useful and extensive general bibliography and an adequate index.

Father Gemelli can be regarded as the promoter of the neo-scholastic movement in Italy, where it has taken a form somewhat different in outlook from that of Louvain. Perhaps the most important part of his strictly psychological training was received in Kulpe's laboratory in Bonn, whence so many streams of constructive psychological thought have issued. The research work carried out in Milan is of a very comprehensive nature, and some of the most modern problems have been taken up energetically. His wide knowledge of philosophy and of the physiology of the nervous system and sense organs together with his outstanding ability for experimental technique, has enabled Professor Gemelli to deal with problems of perception and "Gestalt" psychology in a new and refreshing way, and the results of these investigations are most valuable. Gemelli is one of those who hold that the psychologist cannot afford to neglect the information with which neurology provides him, and insists on all his students receiving a thorough grounding in biology and the physiology of the nervous system.

In this book one glimpses the dynamic freshness and thirst for progress, at once tempered and inspired by sound philosophical principles, which seems to pervade the psychological laboratories

¹ (1) *La Psychologie Expérimentale en Italie. École de Milan*. By A. Manoël. Paris: Félix Alcan. Pp. viii, 489. Price, 80.00 fr. (2) *Fundamentals of General Psychology*. By J. F. Dashiell. London: Pitman. Pp. xxxii, 655. Price, 12s. 6d. (3) *Problems of Psychology*. By H. Gruender, S.J., Ph.D. London: Geo. E. J. Coldwell. Pp. xi, 209. Price, 8s.

of Milan. It is greatly to be hoped that students from this country will go to Milan to study under Gemelli, and thus form a channel by which we may have our share of this important stream of psychological thought.

The second book, *Fundamentals of General Psychology*, by the Kenan Professor of Psychology in the University of North Carolina, is probably the most comprehensive single-volume work on psychology which has been published in recent times. Containing a maximum of fact with a minimum of theory, it is especially valuable in its clear description of modern experimental technique and its concise summaries of the results so far achieved.

There is an abundance of opportunities for advocating the shallow materialistic and behaviouristic views which are so sedulously propagated nowadays, but Professor Dashiell keeps strictly within the limits of scientific psychology, and does not indulge in controversial speculations. But, although the book does not reveal his metaphysical views, it is easy to see that the writer is neither a mechanist or a behaviourist. The book is profusely illustrated with diagrams and sketches of apparatus, and an extensive bibliography is appended to each of the twenty-two chapters. The author has succeeded in packing an amazing amount of information into his book, and Messrs. Pitman are to be congratulated on producing that rare achievement, a twelve-and-sixpenny book which is well worth the money.

Problems of Psychology, by Father H. Gruender, S.J., contains the matter for a three semester-hour course dealing with problems relating to the science and philosophy of our rational life. It is not, therefore, a general psychology, since its principal emphasis is on the higher-level functions of mind. Nor is it a purely scientific psychology of thought, since the author does not hesitate to enter the domain of philosophy whenever the nature of the problem demands it. Father Gruender deals with many of those topics current in psychological circles to-day, which are of special importance because of their impact on moral, social and religious values. Thus he discusses, successively, theories of thought, free-will and personality, the mind-body problem, localization of psychic activity and the spirituality of the human soul. Chapter IV is devoted to modern objections against free-will. The difficulties are put succinctly and answered in traditional scholastic "form," a concise additional explanation frequently being appended.

Father Gruender is Professor of Psychology in St. Louis University, and his work on "Experimental Psychology," reviewed in these pages when it appeared, has shown us that he is fully in touch with the empirical side of psychology, and consequently well able to assess the value of the materialistic and mechanistic theories to which his present book is designed to act as a corrective.

J.L.K.

3—THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS
BACKGROUND¹

MANY students of the New Testament and others will be familiar with "Christ and the Critics," by Father Hilarin Felder, as he then was, and our first duty upon welcoming his new book, *Jesus of Nazareth, a book about Christ*, is to congratulate him upon his episcopal consecration. Both works have been well translated from the German, and the present one should appeal to the English reader even more than its predecessor. "Christ and the Critics" is a work of solid learning, and indeed offers a sure guarantee that in *Jesus of Nazareth* the author is writing with full knowledge of his subject. But the English "critics," while much influenced by the Germans, take to some extent a line of their own, and are not seriously considered in the earlier work. In the present volume the author is engaged in more positive and constructive work, based directly upon the evidence, rather than in confuting adversaries, so that it is not necessary that he should be familiar with the English literature of the subject. He covers much ground, and covers it well; he is not attempting to write the story of Christ's life, but shows in a very complete way its full significance. The six "parts" of the book treat respectively of "Some Fundamental Questions," "The Personality of Jesus," "His Fullness of Virtue," "The Messiahship of Jesus," "The Divinity of Jesus," and "Jesus in the Early Church." We regret the above use of the term "Personality." The author (or his translator) even writes (p. 77): "we shall endeavour to point out the characteristic features which distinguish the Man of Nazareth from all other men, which determine his uniqueness, and which constitute his personality in the stricter sense of the word." On the contrary, this is too loose a use of the term: Christ's Person is divine, and His Personality is constituted by His relation to the Father and the Holy Ghost, not (in any ordinary sense) by any "characteristic features" of His mortal life. That nebulous modern term, "personality," is best avoided in speaking of Him.

Upon the whole the volume is reliable, but leans somewhat excessively to the optimistic side. Thus, we are rather bewildered when we read (p. 76): "In the entire history of the intellectual development of man there is hardly a disaster of more frightful tragedy than the collapse of the rationalistic criticism of the gospel and of Jesus." We confess that we find this rather too good to be true; we have not noticed any such collapse in England, and in

¹ (1) *Jesus of Nazareth*. By the Most Rev. Bishop Hilarin Felder, D.D., O.M.Cap. London: George Coldwell, Ltd. Pp. 382. Price, 10s. 6d. (2) *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus*. By C. Guignebert, Professor of the History of Christianity at the Sorbonne. English translation by S. H. Hooke, Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. Pp. xiv, 288. Price, 21s.

Germany we fear a collapse of far more than rationalistic criticism. Nor can we feel sure that *proskynesis*, or religious homage in the guise of "falling down and adoring," necessarily implies "latreutic adoration" (p. 255); we should prefer to say that the precise significance of the *proskynesis* must be gathered from the context. But a word of caution on points of this kind does not seriously diminish our sense of the high value of the book, which we have much pleasure in recommending to all.

The cleavage between Catholic and non-Catholic is sharper in France than in England, largely because the French are too logical to admit of Protestant compromises; and it is the non-Catholic element that controls education and learning. From a professor acceptable to the anti-clerical bureaucracy we know what to expect, and from Professor Guignebert, in his *Jewish World in the time of Jesus*, we get plenty of it, even to a sneer at the Blessed Trinity (p. 91). The general trend of the book is towards a rather reckless rationalism, and there is a fair amount in it that we think would be rejected by most serious scholars in this country. It is roundly asserted, for instance, that the Book of Daniel "first appeared in Aramaic" (p. 21), and there is no hint that much of it is in Hebrew. It is said that "there is one fact of which we must never lose sight. From the Return onwards the history of the Jews is essentially that of their religion" (p. 48). This is a very disputable statement: the momentous changes in the government from Persian to Macedonian, from Ptolemy to Seleucid, from Romans to Herods, are not at all essentially religious changes.

When we come to the New Testament, things get worse. The authors of the Synoptic gospels, we are told, "were already completely outside Judaism" (p. 258). To write this of a gospel so Jewish through and through as St. Matthew's is simply to write nonsense. "Clearly, Paul starts from the idea that the Cosmos has fallen into chaos" (p. 244); if statements of this sort are to be regarded as "the very teaching of the Apostle," there is, of course, no difficulty in foisting gnosticism on to him, but—equally of course—anything else could be foisted on to him just as well.

We have said enough to show that we cannot regard this work as reliable, and, fortunately, Catholics have something more trustworthy for the same purpose, "*Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*," by the late Père Lagrange. There are also more moderate English books which we should prefer to this. Still, we have no desire to pour contempt on it; it covers a great deal of ground, and often has something noteworthy to say. We may mention, for instance, the unusually full treatment of the Essenes (pp. 172—190). The get-up of the book, too, is little short of magnificent, and in Professor S. H. Hooke, needless to say, the author has found a very competent translator—even if we regret his leanings to such extreme views!

C.L.

4—REVIVAL OF THE JESUIT MISSIONS¹

WHEN Father Roothaan at the restoration of the Society set about re-establishing the Jesuit Missions, he had not, like the founders of Orders, to build up from nothing. The missionary spirit had lived on not only in the hearts of the suppressed missionaries but amongst the little band of survivors in White Russia, where the Bull of suppression had not been promulgated. Father Otto sets out to show how, under Father Roothaan's generalship, the still vigorous shoot was transplanted once more all over the world and there flourished and developed.

The missions were clamouring for the return of the Jesuits. In Russia itself missionary work was impossible because of the opposition of the Orthodox Church, but in Georgia (a Russian Province since 1801) more hope appeared. In Turkey a definite desire for the return of the Jesuits made itself felt and the Czar, Paul I, used his influence for the restoration of the Society's property in Turkey generally. Father Gruber (in 1801) wrote from St. Petersburg that the same was true of China and India. In China, indeed, this had been clear as early as 1780. Prospects were slighter in Japan with regard to which the Jesuit General's seemingly cold reception of Propaganda's offers of support proved wise. Representatives of Spain in S. America signed an all but unanimous petition for these missionaries to be reinstated, only to be refused by a Cortes still in the grip of Encyclopædism and Jansenism.

At the restoration in 1814 the task was immense. Chateaubriand might arouse fervour for a continuance of the glorious past, but the hard facts were that the ideal missions he described had taken two centuries to build up and had been shattered almost to ruin. Father Otto describes at length the demand for the Jesuits throughout the mission world and the readiness of the restored Society to meet the demand. Appeals came from the Pope, Propaganda, bishops, civil authorities and the peoples themselves—a touching instance of the latter being the letter of the Red Indians to the President of the United States.

The members of the Society showed such eagerness to answer the call that the General, Father Fortis, had to moderate it. Bl. Joseph Pignatelli had volunteered even before the Restoration, and the specimens of letters of the "Indipetæ" form inspiring reading. That from Father van Quickenborne was to find favourable answer in less than a year and a half when, in 1823, his caravan started for the wild west of America. Yet at his death in 1829 Father Fortis had been able to inaugurate only three Jesuit missions: under Father Franco in the Greek archipelago, Father Barber

¹ *Gründung der neuen Jesuitenmissionen (durch General P. J. P. Roothaan).* By J. A. Otto, S.J. Herder. Pp. xxviii, 551. Price, 16.00 rm. (bound, 18.00 rm.).

among the Abenaki Indians of Maine, U.S.A., and Father van Quickenborne in Florissant and among the Osage Indians. The reasons for the prudent restraint of the two first Generals after the Restoration are explained: the fewness of the Jesuits, the extent of the work to be done in Europe and the continued opposition of the Order's enemies.

The story of the book unfolds the pageant of work in the different continents, and the attempts to reach to Central Africa will thrill, no doubt, English readers, and the lesson of their failure be one more reminder that Africa must be deeply studied before missionary ventures are undertaken. But perhaps they will turn specially to the pages on Bengal, Jamaica and Honduras where English Jesuits worked during this period. The difficulty, amongst others in Bengal, of combining the offices of Vicar Apostolic and Regular Superior is treated with understanding. Much that makes sad reading is alleviated by the testimony of all classes to the sound work of the English Jesuits. A link with the South African mission (which falls outside the scope of the book) is met in the person of Father Depelchin. With regard to Jamaica and Honduras, naturally merely the beginnings of English Jesuit activity could be recorded.

The last part of the book deals with the guiding principles of Father Roothaan in directing missionary work, relations with ecclesiastical authority, the missionary himself and the formation of a native clergy. But what most attracts us is the enthusiasm of the Society, from General to novices, for the Missions; the insistence of Father Roothaan, while emphasizing the importance of work in Europe, on sending to the Missions, to the amazement of bishops, his very best men; his desire that Provincials should choose for Superiors men of magnanimous views; his own magnanimity in vehemently protesting against those who praised the Society to the belittlement of other bodies. Generosity towards the Missions, he held, was the surest way to God's heart for filling the noviceship—and he pointed to the French Province for corroboration: in twenty-one years, by bearing the brunt of mission-work, it had increased from 17 per cent to 31 per cent of the Society's members. In this they were, he also held, but corresponding with the graces of their vocation.

Father Otto has shown a period of wonderfully successful mission work accomplished during one of the stormiest times of the Society's existence. He has, besides exhaustive research elsewhere, drawn on a prolific source: the letters of Vicars General and Generals of the Order, those of Father Roothaan alone consisting of fifty-six folio volumes. He is to be heartily congratulated on the thoroughness and orderliness of his work but especially on the inspiring character he has given to it all. A real treasure-house of missionary interest is now available.

5—THE LENGTH OF OUR LORD'S PUBLIC LIFE¹

UNDER the general editorship of Father Edmund Sutcliffe, S.J., a new series of theological and allied works has been launched from Heythrop College under the title of the "Bellarmine Series." The first volume is from the pen of the Editor himself, who is Professor of Holy Scripture at Heythrop, and it deals with the difficult question of the length of the Public Ministry of our Lord. It is, of course, popularly supposed that three years and a few months elapsed from the day when our Lord was baptized by John, being then "about the age of thirty years," and the day of His Crucifixion, but as Father Sutcliffe abundantly demonstrates, this has been by no means the constant opinion in the Church.

He himself defends the view that a two years' ministry is more consonant with the evidence of the Gospels, and is not at variance with any other important evidence. His method is to proceed by way of elimination, showing first of all that the view which was so widely held in the early Church that "the acceptable year of the Lord" pointed to a ministry of twelve months' duration, cannot be accepted. He then goes on to argue against the more prevalent modern view of a three years' period, and shows that the arguments by which this position is generally supported are by no means irrefragable. Having thus disposed of the two opposing views, he goes on to substantiate his own belief, that a ministry of two years and a few months is demanded by the Gospel narratives.

The central point of his thesis is based on the interpretation of the unnamed feast in John v, 1. Those who hold the three-year theory would make this a Passover, so that with *four* Passovers referred to in St. John (ii, 13; v, 1; vi, 4; xii, 1) a period of at least three years must be postulated. Father Sutcliffe, however, adopts the view that John v should be read *after* John vi, and that the feast referred to in John v, 1 is identical with the Pasch of John vi, 4. Now it must be admitted that the author has made out a very strong case for the suggested transposition. Not only does the narrative flow more smoothly and intelligibly when chapters iv, vi, v and vii are read in that order, but by a careful inspection of the comparative lengths of the dislocated passages, and making use of the now fairly common view that the early Christians used the *codex* form (approximating to our modern book with separate leaves bound together) rather than the continuous papyrus roll for their sacred writings, he is able to sug-

¹ *A Two Year Public Ministry* (The Bellarmine Series: No. 1). By Father Edmund F. Sutcliffe, S.J., Professor of Holy Scripture at Heythrop College. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. Pp. 170. Price, 7s. 6d.

gest how such a dislocation was mechanically possible. A similar dislocation may, he suggests, be traced in chapter xviii. If this argument is sound, and it is certainly ingeniously developed and convincingly presented, those who base their belief in a three years' ministry on the mention of four Paschs in John lose their main argument.

This does not, of course, mean that the three-year theory necessarily falls to the ground. It is still possible to maintain that larger considerations of New Testament chronology seem to demand that the first Passover after our Lord's Baptism fell in 30 A.D. and the Crucifixion in 33. (On p. 147, Father Sutcliffe shows why the years 31 and 32 are ruled out of court on astronomical grounds.) At the same time, all who are interested in this question must take into consideration Father Sutcliffe's well-documented and carefully reasoned thesis. In addition to the chapters in which he discusses the evidence from the Fathers and other early Christian writers, the views of modern commentators and the evidence of the Evangelists themselves for each of the three alternative views mentioned, he has a useful chapter on the length of the Judean Ministry, and appendices dealing with some of the chronological data by which we can date the closing years of our Lord's life.

It only remains to say a word in praise of the printing and production of the book. May it be the precursor of a long and worthy series!

T.C.

SHORT NOTICES

THEOLOGICAL.

A VAST amount of labour has clearly gone to the making of *Saint Augustine on Eternal Life*, by Rev. D. J. Leahy, D.D., Ph.D. (B.O. & W.: 5s.), for which the author was awarded a doctorate by the Gregorian University. To say, therefore, that the scholarship is of a high order is unnecessary. What possible readers are interested in is whether it will help them to understand and appreciate St. Augustine's doctrine. The answer seems to be that the student of theology with some acquaintance with the background of St. Augustine's thought will find in this volume much useful material, especially in connexion with Augustine's debt to Plotinus, his ideas about the nature of the Beatific Vision, and some incidental discussion of the Saint's epistemology. The beginner is advised to look elsewhere for an easier approach.

BIBLICAL.

Canon Redlich, of the Anglican diocese of Leicester, has written, among other books, *The Student's Introduction to the Synoptic*

Gospels, which appears to have been well received; now he has followed it up with **An Introduction to the Fourth Gospel** (Longmans: 5s.), which sums up shortly and readably what he has to say about it. He runs over some of the main points so lightly that it is hardly possible to criticize his arguments seriously; on many matters the ordinary reader must consider whether or not he be prepared to take the writer's *ipse dixit*. Certainly we would not wish any Catholic to do so, for the author is more drastic in his treatment than might at first sight appear. He "sets out a case," we are told in the preface, "for the traditional view of Johannine authorship, at least in a restricted sense," which means that the Gospel may have been written under St. John's guidance and inspiration, though not by himself. This is so great a "restriction" that the view cannot seriously be called the "traditional" view. And in regard to the historical character of the Gospel he remarks that "to the Evangelist, truth is not historical truth but interpretation conforming with facts" (p. 67). This is another and even greater "restriction"; after two such statements, we doubt whether it be worth while to discuss minor details, especially when we are confronted with so slight a presentation of the opposing thesis. It may be enough to remark that the Catholic scholar will find in this little volume a convenient summary of a position which, outside the Church, would be regarded as moderate. Taking it to be moderate in this sense, we feel some hope that it may exercise a moderating influence upon the more extreme tendencies.

CANON LAW.

The latest work of F. Matteo Conte a Coronata, O.M.C., on matters canonical is a handbook for Superiors in Religious Orders or Congregations dealing with the disciplinary and penal side of Church law as it concerns them and their subjects. This **Manuale practicum Iuris Disciplinaris et Criminalis Regularium** (Marietti: 18.00 l.) includes a catalogue of "delicta" and a set of documents drawn up in appropriate official form for all the eventualities of a process against a delinquent religious. The details are, where necessary, taken from the Franciscan Constitutions, but they apply, with suitable changes, to other Orders.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

Companions in general may be either inspiring or boring, pleasant or distasteful. In the case of **A Companion to the "Summa," Vol. II: The Pursuit of Happiness**, by Walter Farrell, O.P., S.T.L., S.T.D. (Sheed & Ward: 10s. 6d.), "pleasant" is probably the one to choose. Dr. Farrell himself speaks of it as an "easy guide-book" to St Thomas, and as such it may be judged to be very successful. The method is to take groups of St. Thomas's "questions" from the *Prima Secundae*, and talk about

the topics they introduce—"the essence of happiness," "happiness and morality," "habits of happiness"—in a natural and untechnical way, with modern illustrations and parallels to elucidate the teaching of the Angelic Doctor. The book is easy to read, and forms an admirable introduction to the ethical teaching of St. Thomas, though, as with all guide books, merely to read it without inspecting the original will give only a feeble idea of that original. It is the second volume (though the first to appear) of a series of four designed to cover the whole ground, and the whole will form a very useful addition to any Catholic library worthy of the name.

We have already noticed (in February, 1938) the first two volumes of Dr. F. X. Maquart's *Elementa Philosophiae*. With the production of the third "tome" in two parts (published by Blot, Paris), covering Epistemology, Ontology and Theodicy, the work is now complete. Though the book abounds in charts and schematic statements, it seems to suffer from a want of scale or proportion. Arguments are not infrequently reduced to mere statements, while on the other hand a half-page can be sacrificed to reproduce Père Descoqs' verdict on Hamelin. Further, if the author thinks that the epistemological work of Père Maréchal is faulty, he should reply to it in a work of the same calibre as the "Point de Départ," and not in a textbook where straightforward exposition is required and the space available for controversy must be strictly rationed.

HOMILETICAL.

A further series of sermons by Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., appears under the general title of *Joy in Believing* (B.O. & W.: 5s.). The author's joy is never in question, and he succeeds in communicating it in words that are simple and direct, and carry with them an atmosphere of pleasing familiarity with things divine. The sermons, arranged for most Sundays throughout the year, are very short: they are not overburdened with references to modern problems though naturally the preacher's social gospel is at times apparent. His wrath and eloquence are unloosed by the chance remark of a politician about "charity's demoralizing touch"; and now and then we come across characteristic expressions such as "a cushioned cross," "God's foreign accent," and the "babble-babble" of the Infant Jesus.

DEVOTIONAL.

La Mère de Jésus, by Henri Morice (Téqui: 12.00 fr.), contains a series of short readings in the spirit of our Lady's months of May and October. Thoughts both old and new are here expressed in a style at once simple and sensitive. Canon Morice provides useful matter for reflection in his practical applications to everyday life. One does not need to read far to realize that his modest desire to contribute "his small note to the Marian concert" has been fully justified.

Father Eugene Crawford's **Three Hours Agony** (Benziger Bros. : \$1.75) adds yet another manual to the number which treat of our Lord's last words upon the cross. Though the price is somewhat high by English standards, the book may serve as a useful help for those who would make the three hours' devotion by themselves. Discourses, prayers and hymns are neatly intermingled: in fact everything is worked out in detail according to a fixed time-table. The book is excellently printed and produced.

From the same publishers come three volumes of pocket format which clearly form part of a new series. The cost of each is 50 cents: they may easily be slipped into an overcoat pocket and are just the right companion for a railway journey. The first is Dom Hilaire Duesberg's **My Faith: What does it mean to Me?** (the translation is by Ada Lane): it seeks to show how the Catholic Faith applies to and transforms every department of human life. The various chapter-headings indicate how this main theme develops: The Religion of Ritual, of the Inner Life, of the Understanding, of Morality, of Society and of the Individual: . . . it is the religion of them all. The concluding chapter touches upon the deeper note hinted at in the expression: The Religion of Suffering and Care. In the second volume, **The Art of Living with God**, Bishop Joseph Busch treats, in easy and yet expressive language, of the theology of the Sacraments from Baptism to Extreme Unction, adding discourses on the religious vocation, the visible and invisible Church and the force of grace in the social world. Father Frederick MacDonnell, S.J., in the third volume, puts "a ceaseless question" and returns the "changeless answer," asking **To Whom shall we Go?** The author states his arguments with simplicity and with a genuine appeal. In his chapters on Faith, Thinking True and The Credentials of the Church he is obviously turning to those who are men of good will but who are not yet convinced where authority really lies and whither they must turn for that peace and light for which they crave. Significantly, the book concludes with an English version of the Encyclical "Lux Veritatis."

HISTORICAL.

Those who are familiar with the first volume, will not need to be exhorted to read **Old Catholic Lancashire: Vol. 2**, by Dom F. O. Blundell, O.S.B. (B.O. & W. : 6s.), in which the author has collected much useful and interesting material about the fortunes of Manchester, Wigan and Preston during Penal Times. Lancashire folk will find added reason for pride in their origin; whilst those who associate Manchester with rain and cotton and Wigan with music-hall jokes will here realize something of the temper of that Lancashire faith which has played such a large part in the history of Catholic England. The chapter on Stonyhurst, for all its brevity, is an excellent summary of its history from the twelfth

century onwards, whilst over a hundred pages are devoted to the Fylde district—the heart of Lancashire. Though much research has gone to the making of the volume, this has not in any way led to a merely dull chronicle. Even the lists of “recusants,” occasionally to be found, have their interest as showing the perseverance of familiar Lancashire surnames, whilst a host of stories and incidents make the whole a living picture of the struggle that went on to keep alight the flame of Catholic loyalty, with the result that “the Catholic Church in Lancashire to-day enjoys a fervour in numbers and in the spirit of religion, which is equalled nowhere else.”

BIOGRAPHICAL.

In *La Vie aimable de S. François de Sales* (Téqui: 10.00 fr.) Madame Mallie-Guillemin is made to narrate the story of St. Francis's life to her grandchildren. The book is at times a trifle strained and didactic but, none the less, it should foster devotion to a Saint whose life and writings contain so much that is suited to the spiritual needs of our own times.

Frédéric Ozanam thoroughly deserves a place in the collection “*Idéalistes et Animateurs*,” a series of short biographies published by La Bonne Presse. Its author, the Abbé Labelle, throws no new light upon Ozanam's career and achievement but, with the purpose of the collection in mind, has endeavoured to bring out the lofty character of his hero. The various influences he underwent, his ideals and the extent to which they were realized in devoted service to his fellow-men—all these are emphasized. Ozanam stands out as a type of truly noble Christian: we may safely say that anyone who is introduced to him by means of this book, will want to know even more about this apostle of charity.

LITERARY.

Coventry Patmore's *Mystical Poems of Nuptial Love* have been edited and annotated by Father Terence L. Connolly, S.J. (Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston: \$3.00). Perhaps it will be long before we can read some of Patmore's poetry without feeling a lurking doubt whether certain amorous transports are not better left veiled, lest they offend the Puritan: but it is only right to remind ourselves of the unabashed innocence of the “*Canticle of Canticles*.” And such language has been dear to great saints at all times, not excluding the stern John of the Cross. It is a moot point, however, whether Patmore's greatness is such as to warrant the minute editing and commenting which Father Connolly has lavished upon him in this volume. But for those who admire the poet, the work is long overdue. Many Catholics will find here much that is interesting and, read with understanding, truly edifying.

Though mentioned in every one of Jane Austen's novels, it is only in *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* that Bath plays an important part. It is "the scene of action in nineteen of the chapters of *Northanger Abbey* and in nine of *Persuasion*. . . It is quite possible that the opinions expressed by characters in these two books represent in reality Jane's own reactions to Bath. For instance, the joyful excitement of Catherine Morland, who looked forward to 'pleasures untasted and unalloyed,' might be compared with Jane's own youthful feelings before her first visit; whereas Anne Elliot's distaste for the town may be an echo of Jane's more mature judgment when, after making Bath her home for some years, she left it with such feelings of escape" (p. 1). *Northanger Abbey* was perhaps the first completed novel and *Persuasion* the last; between the writing of them twenty years elapsed. The picture of the Bath which captivated the dreams and imaginings of Catherine Morland is far different from the Bath of Anne Elliot. The difference is so striking that it cannot sufficiently be explained by the youthful exuberance of Catherine and the more mature age and character of Anne. Was the change due to a change in the author's outlook and experience, or to a change in Bath itself? This little book, **Jane Austen and Bath**, by Emma Austen-Leigh (Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co.: 1s.), well-illustrated with contemporary maps and prints, and largely drawn from the letters and diaries of Jane's family circle, helps to solve this problem and also throws much interesting light on the author and her novels.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In 1918 Miss Florence Farmborough escaped from Russia through Siberia. In 1926 she took up permanent residence at Valencia. As an eye-witness of the birth and development of Bolshevism in its native country she was able to recognize its growing influence in Republican Spain, and at the outset of the National Movement she offered her services to Radio Salamanca. The present book, **Life and People in National Spain** (Sheed & Ward: 2s. 6d.), includes the talks she delivered on Sunday mornings during the first year of the war. Clearly, therefore, the book is "dated" but this fact gives it a specific value. Miss Farmborough describes the life and people of National Spain as she saw it and them, week by week, in the years 1936—1937. Her work will stand as one more proof that the "counter-revolution" was both Spanish and National, from its inception. Its perusal will astonish the ordinary newspaper reader and reveal the depth of the deception practised upon the English public through the Press. Did this not culminate in the amazing assertion of one London paper that Catalonia fell "before the military might of Italy"? In this book we have descriptions of the "military might" of the real Spain with miniature biographies of Franco, Millán Astray, Mola and Moscardó. The

writer is an admirer of all things Spanish and at times she tends to mar her case by a too frequent use of superlatives. One or two statements need further clarification as, for example (p. 177), that the Falangists constitute "an order of strong religious principles with vows of obedience, patriotism and sacrifice."

Mr. Arthur Loveday's **World War in Spain** (John Murray: 6s.) deserves high commendation. The author is a non-Catholic and, therefore, his testimony concerning the religious persecution under the Republic, the "myth of the riches of the Church," and the intense revival of faith and practice under the Nationalist flag is all the more emphatic. For fifteen years he was in business in Spain and became, finally, the chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce. He has a thorough knowledge of the Spanish people with their language and regional problems. The result is a clear and comprehensive account of the Spanish struggle with due assessment of its causes and the story of its varied campaigns. The style is sober and objective, rhetoric is conspicuously absent, and the account is well supplied with references. A number of appendices and some excellent sketch-maps and photographs add greatly to the value of the book. It may heartily be recommended as a work the average man would read with enjoyment and distinct profit. We must not allow the more recent tension in Central Europe to distract our minds from the terrible lessons which may be learnt from Spain. Mr. Loveday shows that the sentimental support given in England to the Republican side was gravely to the detriment of real British interests, whether political or commercial. Finally, he has something to say of General Franco and the new ideals of the Spanish people.

MISSIONARY.

From the Bridge (Manresa Press: 4s. 6d.), by the Most Reverend T. D. Roberts, S.J., has a breezy atmosphere, each chapter being given appropriately a nautical heading, pleasantly recalling Liverpool memories. In it His Grace has succeeded in his purpose of "conveying an insight into the conditions" of his vast "Province which reaches from Baluchistan in the extreme North-West to Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India, with a portion of the South-East coast." Though at first sight the book might appear slight and of merely passing interest, it does remind us of the many problems with which His Grace has to deal. Chief of these is that of "evolving a Catholic unity out of a diversity of races and communities." On this point we find, even in the small compass of these *obiter scripta*, words of sound paternal guidance, words strong and kind. Unity, without insistence on uniformity, is stressed with regard to works like the S.V.P. organizations and other forms of Catholic Action: as is the necessity of one leading Catholic paper abreast of the times and expressing the views of the hierarchy and laity with clarity and

universal sympathy. Problems such as these are seen to need treatment quite peculiar to India. Addresses on various occasions are here reproduced, short articles contributed to the "Examiner" or the Indian "Messenger of the Sacred Heart" and a series of letters to children, which reveal a Christ-like attitude towards them and arouse their amused solicitude for his pets, "Jickey," the baby Crocodile and "Joe," the pup, while always directing them to lofty ideals and insisting that their alms should be, not for himself but for his poor. At the end of the book three "Reports to the Bridge," by the late Archbishop Goodier, S.J., Father Rodriguez, Parish priest of Baroda, and Professor Correia-Alfonso of Ismael College, Bombay, give valuable and encouraging information as to work done by nuns, the great hope for the evangelization of the "untouchables" and the soundness and prestige of Catholic higher education in the Archdiocese. There are many illustrations, but a map of the Archdiocese, showing the diocese and missions, would have been a welcome addition.

PERIODICALS.

The April number of **The Pylon** lives up to its excellent reputation. Together with its many photographs and short items of missionary news it includes, for example, an article on Leisure by Canon Jackman, and the twentieth instalment of "Aspects of Rome," by Augusta Francis. In "Letters from their Aunts" Sempronina and her nephew Julius continue to correspond, with Father Martindale acting as English interpreter. *The Pylon* is admirably produced. May its success continue!

Two numbers of a Polish periodical with the title **Homo Dei** have reached us from the Redemptorist house at Tuchów. They are of an ascetical and pastoral character and are meant primarily for the use of priests and clerical students: there are short articles, news-items of Catholic interest, and reviews of Polish and foreign books. Catholics who have some knowledge of the language would find them interesting and useful reading. It is a matter for regret that we know all too little of the Catholic spirit and achievement of Poland.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

From Cork University Press come three numbers of a new series on social questions (Longmans: 1s. each). They offer to a wider public the substance of lectures delivered at University College in that city. In **Reform or Revolution?**, by Father James O'Mahony, O.M.Cap., our present-day situation is admirably sketched. Starting with the Thomistic outlook on life and man the author proceeds to examine liberal and Marxist notions, and insists that the true solution lies in a Christian reform of social life and individual behaviour. **Modern Democracy**, by Professor James Hogan, continues the course with an examination of De-

mocracy as envisaged by nineteenth-century liberalism and in various theories of right and left to-day. These different ideas are considered in their historical setting, and their relation to Christian ideas is well brought out. Father Paschal Larkin's **Economics and the Worker** treats of the same subject from the economic point of view. Theories of wages, the Marxian Mode of Thought and other subjects are analysed. This new series which resumes an earlier set of publications of twenty years ago, will prove a valuable addition to Catholic literature on this all-important subject.

Continuity, by the Rev. C. Hoare (Burleigh Press, Bristol: 3s. 6d.), contains a number of articles by the parish priest of Whetstone on the question of Anglican Continuity. The articles were written originally to refute the assertions of an Anglican pamphlet by Dr. Eck. Father Hoare states the Catholic position and brings a host of English pre-Reformation witnesses to the Papal Supremacy, and an equal host of Anglican statements which repudiate that supremacy in favour of the Crown. The book is a veritable arsenal with just the right kind of ammunition to explode that often discredited but constantly recurring claim.

Father William James Anderson has gone to great labour to collect **A History of the Catholic Parish of St. Mary's, Chelsea** (Samuel Walker, Hinckley). Londoners do not always realize what an interest attaches to many of their churches and how rapid their development has been. St. Mary's, Cadogan Gardens, is one of the oldest of these churches, being founded by the Abbé Voyaux de Franous, early in the last century. In 1791, the year of the passing of the Catholic Relief Act, there were only three public chapels in London; at Moorfields, Virginia Street and near St. George's Fields. With the passing of the Act and the influx of French refugees, churches began to rise with considerable rapidity. Father Anderson narrates the story of the growth of Catholic life in Chelsea, and well-known Catholic figures are brought into his pages. The present building was erected in 1877 and is to-day one of the best-known of London churches.

Prayers from the Psalms (B.O. & W.: 1s.), arranged by a Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, constitute a prayer book of a novel kind. Verses from the Psalms are grouped together under a number of headings which represent different moods of prayer. It is a handy little book and might serve as an introduction to the treasury of the Church's Office.

Of interest to Sodalists will be the **Little Manual of the Children of Mary Immaculate** (B.O. & W.: 6d.) in which a Vincentian Father has collected the rules and ceremonies of this Association. The Office of the Immaculate Conception is given in an English version together with a method of hearing Mass in union with our Lady.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

- BEAUCHESNE, Paris.
Notre-Dame des Champs. By Charles Chalmette. Pp. 240. *Les Sept Fontaines.* By Père J. Janot, S.J. Pp. 196. Price, 10.00 fr.
- BELL AND SONS, London.
An Essay on English Monasteries. By Rose Graham, D.Litt. Pp. 40. Price, 2s.
- BENZIGER BROTHERS, New York.
Adoro Te. By Dom Eugène Vandeur, O.S.B. Translated by Clara Rumball. Pp. 164. Price, \$1.75.
Guide for Victim Souls of the Sacred Heart. Compiled by Very Rev. Joseph Kreuter, O.S.B. Pp. xiv, 236. Price, \$1.50.
- BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE, LTD., London.
Joy in Believing. By Father Vincent McNabb, O.P. Pp. x, 186. Price, 5s.
Little Manual of the Children of Mary Immaculate. By a Vincentian Father. Pp. 66. Price, 6d.
A Two Year Public Ministry (Bellarmine Series: No. 1). By Father Edmund F. Sutcliffe, S.J. Pp. 170. Price, 7s. 6d.
The Human Soul. 3rd edit. By Abbot Anscar Vonier, O.S.B. Pp. x, 270. Price, 6s.
Two English Carmelites. By Sister Anne Hardman, S.N.D. Pp. xii, 176. Price, 7s. 6d.
Companions of Mary Ward. By Mother Mary Philip, I.B.V.M. Pp. viii, 176. Price, 6s.
Moral Problems of Mental Defect (Bellarmine Series: No. 2). By Father J. S. Cammack, S.J. Pp. xii, 200. Price, 7s. 6d.
Catechism Stories. Part I. By Rev. F. H. Drinkwater. Pp. xii, 109. Price, 2s. 6d.
Spanish Basques and Separatism. By the Marquis Merry del Val. Pp. v, 58. Price, 1s.
Where is thy God? By Father James, O.M.Cap. Pp. 265. Price, 5s.
- COLDWELL, London.
Gods of the Gentiles. By Father George C. Ring, S.J. Pp. xiv, 344. Price, 15s.
The Mantle of Mercy. By Leo Weismantel. Translated by Albert Paul Schimberg. Pp. xii, 242. Price, 8s. 6d.
Angel Food. By Rev. Gerald T. Brennan. Pp. xii, 114. Price, 6s. 6d.
The Women of the Bible. By Cardinal Faulhaber. Edited by Rev. Brendan Keogh, S.D.S. Pp. 248. Price, 7s. 6d.
- FLAMMARION, Paris.
Vie de Jésus. By Dom Columba Marmion, O.S.B. Pp. 48. Price, 2.25 fr.
- FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PRESS, New York.
Beyond the Altar Rail. By Father Thomas H. Moore, S.J. Pp. 112.
- HEATH CRANTON, LTD., London.
A Century of English Architecture. By W. Randolph. Pp. 16. Price, 1s. n.
- HERDER, Freiburg im Breisgau.
Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit. By Pp. Marcel Villar, S.J., and Karl Rahner, S.J. Pp. 338. Price, 7.80 rm. Bound, 9.20 rm.
Gründung der neuen Jesuitenmissionen durch General Johann Philipp Roothaan. By Joseph Albert Otto, S.J. Pp. 580. Price, 16.00 rm. Bound, 18.00 rm.
- LONGMANS, London.
Body and Spirit. By various authors. Translated by Donald Attwater. Pp. xii, 200. Price, 7s. 6d. n.
Westminster Version O.T.: The First Book of Psalms. By Father Cuthbert Lattey, S.J. Pp. xxxviii, 148. Price, 5s. 6d.
- MACMILLAN & CO., London.
Psychotherapy. By Marcus Gregory, B.Litt., D.Phil. Pp. xviii, 496. Price, 21s.
- RAEBER, Luzern.
Die Judenfrage. By Andreas Amsee. Pp. 118.
- RAUCH, Innsbruck.
Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae. Vol. I. By Fathers Lercher and Schlagenhaufen, S.J. Pp. xii, 440. Price, 9.00 rm. Bound, 11.20 rm.
Geist in Welt. By Karl Rahner, S.J. Pp. xvi, 296. Price, 8.40 rm. Bound, 9.60 rm.
- SANDS, London.
The New State. By Victor Pradera. Translated by Bernard Malley. Pp. 320. Price, 8s. 6d.
- SHEED & WARD, London.
The Violent take it by Storm. By Violet Mackinder. Pp. 228. Price, 6s.
Chosen Races. By Margaret Sothorn. Pp. 378. Price, 8s. 6d.
The Woman who was Poor. By Léon Bloy. Pp. 365. Price, 8s. 6d. n.
- TALBOT PRESS, Dublin.
From an Old Monk's Diary. By Rev. Martin Dempsey. Pp. 100. Price, 2s.
- "VITA E PENSIERO," Milan.
M. Terenti Varronis de Vita Populi Romani. By Benedetto Riposati. Pp. 320. Price, 30.00 l.
Gli Agrupamenti di Imprese nell' Economia Corporativa. By various authors. Pp. 220. Price, 18.00 l.
Introduzione allo Studio di Clemente Alessandrino. By Giuseppe Lazzati. Pp. 92. Price, 15.00 l.

